Introduction to *Avestan*

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Brill Introductions to Indo-European Languages

Series Editors

Michiel de Vaan
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VOLUME 1

Manuscript J2, 478ᵛ, Yasna 43.6 (end) – Yasna 43.8 (beginning)

Introduction to Avestan

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Translator's Note

Like any dutiful translator, I have at all times striven to obtain an accurate and clear rendering of the original Spanish text into English, while still maintaining as much of the original phrasing and style as possible. Given the objective of this book, to introduce the facts concerning the historical and synchronic grammar of Avestan, I have prized clarity above all, and therefore have occasionally added additional explanatory clauses where I felt that a merely accurate translation did not convey the intended point. Similarly, the availability of a more extensive number and gender agreement system in Spanish often necessitated that I restore full nominal referents in many places, again for the sake of clarity.

For technical reasons, the files in which the original Spanish manuscript was composed were not usable. To produce the translation, I therefore retyped the entire book from a printed copy of the original 2001 Ediciones Clásicas edition, and typeset it using X$_\exists$L^{A}T$_E$X, in order to take advantage of direct Unicode input.

First thanks go to the authors, Javier Martínez and Michiel de Vaan (who, incidentally, taught the first course of Avestan in which I sat, now almost five years ago), for having entrusted me with this project. Chiara Bozzone kindly read various portions of my text, suggested better translations, and offered moral support whenever necessary. I owe a considerable debt to Jesse Lundquist, who read a draft of the manuscript through the portion on nominal morphology, and thereby saved me from innumerable typographical errors.

Los Angeles, June 2013
RS

Preface

Around the second millennium BCE, at the same time that Judaism was taking shape further to the west, another monotheistic religion, impelled by the prophet Zarathustra, arose among the Iranian tribes that inhabited the area of present-day Eastern Iran and Western Afghanistan. Zarathustra incorporated the old Iranian deities into this new religion, and he reorganized them within a dualistic system characterized by the battle between Good and Evil. The Mazdayasnian creed attained dominance in the Achaemenid (559–336 BCE) and Sasanian (ca. 224–651 CE) Persian Empire. Later, following the Muslim invasion, the Mazdayasnian religion was nearly annihilated; nevertheless, in spite of everything, Mazdayasnianism survived until the present day in a couple of Iranian cities, in the west of India (Bombay [Mumbai], Gujarat), and throughout the diaspora (United States, England).

Of the totality of texts belonging to the canon, which was formed in the first half of the first millenium BCE and was successively transmitted by priests, only a tiny fraction has survived, transmitted in manuscripts since the Middle Ages. With the acquisition of a good portion of those manuscripts in the 18th and 19th centuries, the academic study of the Avestan language and the Mazdayasnian religion began in Europe.

Presently, grammars and monographs on Avestan exist in various languages, but an updated modern introduction, mainly intended for students of Comparative and Indo-European Linguistics was still lacking. In view of this gap, we first published in 2001 an *Introducción al Avéstico*, which was quite successful, and rapidly sold out. Limitations owing to the original language and the small size of the first printing made the book a *rarum*.

The start of the new series *Brill Introductions to Indo-European Languages* allows us to seize the opportunity to produce an English translation based on the *Introducción*, as many students of Avestan and Comparative Linguistics requested since the Spanish book appeared.

Considering the growing number of scholars interested in the study of Ancient Languages and Cultures, the present grammar has a dual objective. In the first place, it aspires to be a clear and concise manual of Avestan for those who wish to study the texts from a historical and cultural perspective, but it also intends to bring out the history of one of the oldest and most archaic Indo-European languages.

On the whole, the aim of this new edition was to change the text as little as possible, because of both the positive feedback received after the first edition and in order to maintain the concision and handiness of the original.

Nevertheless, we have taken advantage of this occasion to correct typos and other minor errors borne in the first edition, and we have also added some titles to the bibliography.

Academic works are always subject to revision and the present book constitutes no exception. After a period of further study, the historical grammar of the languages indeed requires new explanations as well. Real progress has been made in Avestan philology over the last decade (in particular, the results of studies made by Jean KELLENS and by Alberto CANTERA and his collaborators), and the current text has consequently been updated. In matters of historical phonology, M. DE VAAN has, in a number of instances, modified our previous views in agreement with the findings of his 2003 study on the Avestan vowels and other subsequent papers.

We would, at this point, again like to remember the teachers who introduced the study of Avestan to us: Helmut FISCHER and Ralf-Peter RITTER on the one hand, and Robert BEEKES, Alexander LUBOTSKY, and Jochem SCHINDLER on the other.

Other friends and scholars also deserve our gratitude for their advice concerning this book. Carlos JORDÁN CÓLERA (Zaragoza) revised and gave many comments on the original Spanish version. Alberto CANTERA (Salamanca) has given graciously of his time and has likewise offered many helpful comments, and Douglas FEAR (Heidelberg) was able to untighten his schedule and read the final manuscript. Lastly, we are deeply grateful to Ryan SANDELL for willingly entrusting himself to the translation of the Spanish text, and for being a patient and solicitous assistant at every stage of this work.

A considerable number of the textual materials used for the revision and updating of the present book, such as the frontispiece image of the Ms. J2, have been extracted from the corpora belonging to the TITUS Project.

Oviedo / Leiden, June 2013
JM & MdV

Symbols and Abbreviations

†	hypothetically expected form	IE	Indo-European
+	improved reading (of Geldner)	IIr.	Indo-Iranian
		impv.	imperative
×	conjecture not present in mss.	impf.	imperfect
		ind.	indicative
#	beginning or end of a word	inf.	infinitive
°	before or after a shortened word	inj.	injunctive
		inst.	instrumental
≈	corresponds to	Ir.	Iranian
.	syllable boundary	Lat.	Latin
<	develops regularly from	LG	lengthened grade
<<	develops indirectly from	Lith.	Lithuanian
>	develops regularly to	loc.	locative
>>	develops indirectly to	m(asc).	masculine
→	replaced by	mid.	middle
abl.	ablative	mss.	manuscripts
acc.	accusative	N.B.	nota bene
act.	active	ne(ut).	neuter
aor.	aorist	nom.	nominative
Av.	Avestan	OAv.	Old Avestan
ca.	circa	OCS	Old Church Slavic
ch.	chapter	OHG	Old High German
cs.	centuries	OIr.	Old Irish
caus.	causative	OP	Old Persian
dat.	dative	opt.	optative
esp.	especially	part.	participle
f(em).	feminine	pass.	passive
FG	full grade	PD	proterodynamic
fn.	footnote	PE	primary ending(s)
fut.	future	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
gen.	genitive	perf.	perfect
Goth.	Gothic	pl.	plural
Gr.	Greek	plupf.	pluperfect
HD	hysterodynamic	PN	proper noun
Hitt.	Hittite	posp.	postposition
i.e.	id est	ppp.	past passive participle
id.	idem	pres.	present

prev.	preverb	superl.	superlative
rel.	relative	Umbr.	Umbrian
resp.	respectively	v.l.	varia lectio
SE	secondary ending(s)	voc.	vocative
sg.	singular	w.a.	without attestation
Skt.	Sanskrit	YAv.	Young Avestan
subj.	subjunctive	ZG	zero grade

Introduction

§1   Avestan; the Iranian Languages

Avestan is the language preserved in the sacred books of the Parsis,[1] the ensemble of which is called the 'Avesta'. Avestan is an Indo-European language and belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the family. In turn, Avestan (Av.), together with Old Persian (OP), is the oldest transmitted Iranian language.

Precision is necessary with respect to the term 'Iranian' because of possible confusion beween the linguistic and the geographical use of the term. The Iranian languages are not geographically restricted to the borders of present-day Iran, but are also found scattered throughout the whole area of the Middle East: Turkey (Kurdish and Zaza [Zāzā]), Georgia and Russia (Ossetic), Azerbaijan (Tātī), Iraq (Kurdish), Iran (Persian, Kurdish, Balochi [Balōčī], Pashto [Paštō]), Afghanistan (Pashto, Ormurī, Parachi [Parāčī], Tajik [Tajĭkī], etc.), etc.

As has already been noted, the oldest attested languages of the Iranian group are Old Persian and Avestan, of which two varieties are known: Old Avestan (OAv.), also called Gathic Avestan or Avestan of the Gathas [Gāθās], and Young Avestan (YAv.). The differences between both varieties are as much chronological (diachronic) as dialectal (geographic).

There are other old Iranian languages of which we are aware, but unfortunately, nothing more than scarce and badly preserved remnants have been passed down. Such is the case for Scythian, of which we have information through Greek writers; for Median, of which direct testimony does not exist; etc.

In Figure 1, one can get a general view of the family tree of the Iranian languages. Note that the diagram does not faithfully reflect the historical reality of the languages, and that there are still obscure points regarding the synchronic position of some languages.

Neither where nor when Avestan was spoken is known with certainty, though it is possible to surmise that its area of origin was Eastern Iran, while it is thought that Zarathustra must have lived before the 10th c. BCE.

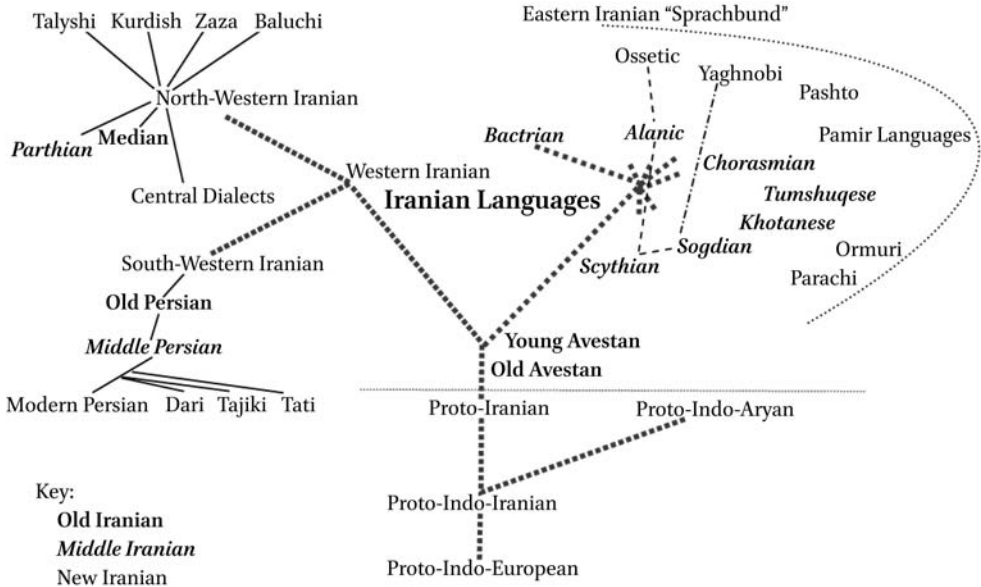1   Followers of the Mazdayasnian religion (Zoroastrianism).

FIGURE 1   *Iranian family tree (non-exhaustive listing of modern languages)*

§2   The Avestan Texts

The Avestan language has been transmitted to the present day by means of manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from the 13th or 14th cs. CE (!).[2] The monumental edition of GELDNER is preceded by a series of *Prolegomena*, in which all of the manuscripts utilized for the edition are classified in a detailed fashion, according to the traditional method of Classical Philology. The *Prolegomena* furnish some valuable information, particularly due to the fact that some of the manuscripts seen by GELDNER have since been irremediably lost, and the whereabouts of many others are unknown.[3]

The difficult work of reconstituting the Avestan texts rigorously combines philology and linguistics, as the results that follow from the exegesis of the

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2   This is K7a.b., which BARR dates to the year 1288 or 1268; cf. GELDNER Prol. VIIa.; BARR 1944: XIII f.; and HOFFMANN/NARTEN 16. This manuscript is accompanied by a Pahlavi translation, i.e., in Middle Persian. The manuscripts that contain only the text in Avestan are termed 'pure' (*sāde*), most of which are generally much younger than those called 'impure'.

3   The Ms. Mf4 is an exceptional case, as it was not collated by GELDNER. This important manuscript has been edited in 1976 by JAMASPASA. As it happens, some of the mss. have been rediscovered: cf., for example, F1.

FIGURE 2   *The Iranian lands in antiquity*

texts, together with textual criticism, must be compared with the results from linguistics (historical and comparative). In virtue of this method, the Erlangen circle, under the guidance of K. HOFFMANN, has made considerable progress in the study of Avestan philology during recent decades. One of the achievements of HOFFMANN consists precisely in positing an archetype from which all the preserved Avestan texts ultimately derive. In effect, despite the many variants that one may observe both in the texts and in their parts, all the manuscripts retain a great uniformity, and must derive from an archetype put together in early Islamic times (see § 3). The restitution of the text that underlay the archetype (cf. § 4.2.5) is the principal task that Avestan philology undertakes.

It seems that selected Avestan texts were organized into a canon in a manner similar to other liturgical texts such as the Bible or the Veda. Nevertheless, even after the creation and diffusion of the Avestan script, as well as the compilation of the Avestan canon, the transmission of the Avesta continued to be primarily oral. Today, only a meager portion of the ancient canon is preserved. In the Pahlavi (Middle Persian) literature, many texts are mentioned that, unfortunately, have not been preserved. The archetype reconstructible for the totality of the extant Avestan manuscripts probably reflects a tradition made during the Sasanian period (ca. 224–651 CE). This collection consisted of descriptions of Zoroastrian rituals. They give the Avestan texts which are to be pronounced during the ritual and some short stage instructions to the officiating priests (given in various contemporary languages). The collection of texts that was made for the archetype is found to different degrees in various

manuscripts. Its original use was for instructing future priests in the religious schools, rather than actual use during religious ceremonies.

Within the Avestan corpus, the texts belonging to Old Av. are: **(a)** the 17 songs conceivably composed by Zarathustra himself (ordered into five gathas: Y 28–34, 43–46, 47–50, 51, 53), **(b)** the *Yasna haptaŋhāiti* (Y 35.2–41.6), which could also be attributed to Zarathustra, and **(c)** several fragments dispersed throughout the Yasna. The remaining texts of the corpus are catagorized as Young Av.: for example, the *Yasna* (Y), *Yašt* (Yt), the *Vīsperad* (Vr), the *Nyāyišn* (Ny), the *Gāh* (G), the *Sīrōza* (S), the *Āfrīngān* (A), the *Vīdēvdād* (Vd), etc. They are composed in prose with some small remnants of poetry. On the texts, cf. § 41 ff.

§ 3   Writing System: The Avestan Alphabet

Avestan is written with an alphabet created expressly for the purpose of committing the corpus to writing; the creation of this alphabet is probably to be situated between the middle of the 7th c. and the middle of the 9th c; cf. below. The Avestan alphabet is very complete and contains a detailed inventory of graphemes (it may, perhaps, be the first phonetic alphabet), whose goal was to represent with precision, in writing, a (liturgical) recited text, which would have had variant forms depending upon the speed of recitation, etc. This fact indicates that the Avestan alphabet is a deliberate creation, and does not result from a lengthy process of adoption. Indeed, the alphabet must have had a specific creator, who could equally have been a lone individual or have come from a school of recitation.

The immediate model for the Avestan alphabet is a variety of the Pahlavi script (which itself ultimately derives from the Aramaic script): Book Pahlavi, used by theologians of the Zoroastrian church for their writings. Its influence is clearly seen in the letters *a* ꭓ *i* ꭩ *k* ꭨ *x*ᵛ ꭚ *t* ꭢ *p* ꭤ *b* ꭞ *n* ꭲ *m* ꭤ *r* ꭨ *s* ꭨ *z* ꭨ and *š* ꭨ. Some characters, however, have been taken over from another, more archaic variety, used for a translation of the psalter, and known because they have been found in a manuscript from Turfan (7/13th c. CE): cf. *γ* ꭨ, *j* ꭩ, and *d̲* ꭨ. The rest of the letters result either from the use of diacritics (for example, the small line ꭨ was abstracted from Pahl. *ˈL* /ō/ ꭨ > *ō* ꭨ, as a sign of length, and added to make the corresponding longs to *i* and *u*, i.e. *ī* ꭨ and *ū* ꭨ, while being subtracted from Pahl. *ˈL* /ō/ to write *o* ꭨ) or from pure invention (*å̊* ꭨ as a ligature of *ā* + *ə* [ꭨ + ꭨ] or *δ* in its two variants ꭨ and ꭨ).

The establishment of a relative chronology for the script is a complicated issue, and has been a recent topic of discussion. Until now, an inscription in

Book Pahlavi script on a sarcophagus discovered in Istanbul, whose archeological dating demands a date no later than 430 CE, was usually adduced as important evidence. Some scholars even allowed the possibility that the creation of the script had taken place during the reign of Šābuhr II (310–379 CE).

At present, the dating of the sarcophagus has been revised, and a much later date is admitted, probably the 9th or 10th c. Recently, a new approach to the evidence provided by the Pahlavi books and other sources, like coins, points toward the existence of a Sasanian Avesta. The invention of the Avestan alphabet could accordingly be dated to around 500 AD. It is quite probable that the pressure of the Arab conquest (651 CE) acted as a catalyzing agent in the Mazdayasnian community, and the need was felt to continue the Avestan canon in a written form. The canon's redaction in writing may have materialized during the so-called "Pahlavi Renaissance" (9th c.), which attempted to set up a canonical book in direct opposition to those that the other great religions offered, and to the *Qur'an* in particular.

Despite its obvious filiation, the Avestan writing system distinguishes itself sharply from the imprecision that characterizes the Pahlavi system, in which the same sign or ligature allows for various interpretive possibilities, and vowels are not indicated (a practice inherited from Aramaic). Avestan, from the outset, assigned a specific value to each sign and marked the vowels precisely. In this regard, the Greek writing system, which was well known throughout the East, may have served as a point of reference for the creators of the Avestan alphabet.

§ 4   The Transmission

The enterprise that sought to commit the Avestan corpus to writing must have been carried out shortly after the invention of the alphabet, and would have culminated with the production of a sort of *editio princeps* of the Avesta, which is usually given the name 'Sasanian Archetype'. This unpreserved archetype establishes the beginning of Avestan's history of textual transmission. The transmission of the corpus, however, obviously begins much earlier, with the very moment of its composition. From here, it is possible to distinguish between several stages up until the time that the corpus took written form.

§ 4.1. With regard to OAv., the stages are as follows (according to HOFFMANN 1989:51, with slight modification): **1.** the original language of the *gāθās* of Zarathustra, the *Yasna haptaŋhāiti*, and the three sacred prayers (between 1000 and 900 BCE). The region where the Old Av. texts originated is usually located in Northeastern Iran (Herat?); **2.** changes due to slow recitation appear (here, the numerous non-metrical anaptytic vowels are introduced); **3.** changes due

to transmission in the hands of YAv. priests, who introduced phonetically YAv. forms into OAv. (the so-called "Young Avestanisms"); **4.** an intentional alteration of the text through the orthoepic diaskeuasis, the aim of which was to establish a canonical text.

§ 4.2. Once the text of Old Av. was established, the transmission of the Old and Young Av. texts was carried out in common. The stages that affect the whole of the Avesta are the following: **1.** the original language of the Young Avestan redactors; **2.** the movement of the Avestan tradition around 500 CE to Persis [Fārs] in Southwestern Iran; **3.** the transmission of Avestan in a theological school in Southwestern Iran (Eṣṭakhr), which is reflected through the influence of Old Persian and Median, in fanciful pronunciations that are presumably the work of semi-erudite teachers, in the composition of late (grammatically incorrect) Avestan texts, and in the incorporation of portions of texts that were transmitted in other geographical areas.

4. With this stage, the purely oral transmission comes to an end. It is traditionally thought that, in the 4th c. CE, the alphabet, with phonetic notation for Avestan, was created, and that the corpus obtained written form (the Sasanian Archetype). This chronology is presently undergoing revision, and it seems that this process took place rather in the 6th c. **5.** Throughout the Sasanian period (ca. 224–651), the Avesta suffered serious deterioration because of incorrect pronunciation (the period of the vulgate). **6.** Starting from the first archetype (11th c.?), hyparchetypes, which were not free of errors (cf. the regular interchange between *š š́* and *ṣ̌*), emerged. **7.** Since 1288 CE, the recent manuscripts have been copied with a large number of errors and obvious corruptions; the presently existing manuscripts reflect the outcome of this work.

Phonology

§ 5 Alphabet and Phoneme Inventory

The Avestan alphabet consists of 16 vowel signs and 37 consonant signs. The fact that a considerable number of the language's phonemes are represented by multiple graphemes demonstrates that the writing system is effectively more phonetic than phonological.

§ 5.1. In Table 1, the letters of the Avestan alphabet are presented according to their place of articulation, which is the traditional practice in Indo-Iranian philology. The accompanying transliteration below each letter is that which is usually employed at present. This transliteration scheme is based on a notation established by K. Hoffmann (1971; cf. 1975: 316 ff.), which the scientific community has accepted as the norm. Previously, different signs were used for the transliteration of some characters, such as *ḣ* for *x́*, *č* for *c*, *ǰ* for *j*, *w* for *β*, *n* for *n* and *ṇ*, *š* for *š*, *ś*, and *ṣ̌*, *y* for *y*, *ẏ*, and *ii*, and *v* for *v* and *uu*. Recently, other characters have been introduced into the modern transliteration system: *q̇*, *ġ*, *ŋᵛ*, *ń*, *ṇ*, *ṃ*, *š*, and *ṣ̌*.

§ 5.2. Certain letters are found only in the manuscripts and are usually not present in the textual editions, a fact which should not take away from their importance, because some of these letters may have been part of the original alphabet of the archetype.

1. *å* appears only in ms. Pd, where it is used instead of *a* preceding *ŋh*.

2. *ġ*, which scarcely occurs in the manuscripts, belongs to the original alphabet. In the manuscripts that do use it, it most often appears in the frequent final sequence *-ə̄ṇg* (cf. esp. the mss. S1 and J3; § 7.9.3), from which it is possible to deduce that *ġ* could have been an unreleased consonant like *ṭ* (§ 11.10.2); both are the only final occlusives in Avestan.

3. *ŋᵛ* (-*ŋuh-* [-*ŋh-*] / -*ŋᵘh-* < *-*hṷ*- < *-*sṷ*-) likewise belonged to the archetype and represents a labialized *ŋ*; cf. § 11.31. In the same fashion, *ń* represents a palatal *ŋ* resulting from *-*hi̯*- < *-*si̯*-; cf. § 11.29.

4. *ń* (cf. § 11.4), in the archetype, represented a palatal *n* produced before **i̯*; it is thus usually found in the manuscripts preceding *ii* (< **i̯*), but also before *i*.

5. *ṃ* was likewise a constituent letter of the original alphabet, used for the representation of a voiceless *m*. Occasionally, one finds it replaced by *hm*.

TABLE 1   *The Avestan alphabet*

a	ā	å	ẚ	ą	ą̇	ə	ə̄

e	ē	o	ō	i	ī	u	ū

k	x	x́	xᵛ	g	ġ	γ

c	j

t	θ	d	δ	ṱ

p	f	b	β

ŋ	ń	ŋᵛ	n	ń	ṇ	m	m̨

ẏ	y	v	r

s	z	š	ž	ś	ṣ̌

h

6. The manuscripts that come from Iran usually employ *ẏ* instead of *y*, which is used much more frequently in the Indian manuscripts. The substantial formal difference between the two signs excludes the possibility that they might have been mere variants; it may be that *ẏ* was originally employed for initial #*i̯* (§ 11.1.1). The two distinct graphemes could be explained by supposing that original initial #*i̯* was written with *ẏ*, while *y* would have, in principle, served to represent a palatal *ž*. With the passage of time, the sounds *ž* and *ź* were no longer differentiated. Both sounds came to be written in inlaut with *ž*, consequently leaving the letter for *ź* free; this letter then must have been used

instead of *ẏ* by a certain Parsi community in India, whence the usage of *y* was generalized in the Indian manuscripts.

§ 5.3. The alphabet is written from right to left, and the letters are not usually conjoined, but rather are written separately. Ligatures are not normally employed, while those that do appear are sporadic and secondary by nature. The most common ones are *ša*, *šc*, and *št*.

§ 5.4. The Avestan writing system also makes use of an interpunct: the dot (·), which occurs at the end of each word or separates, in an inconsistent way, the members of compounds, without observing any difference from the first function: cf. *ərəš.vacā̊* 'who tells the truth' (Y 31.12), from the adv. *ərəš* 'right, correctly' and *vacah-* 'word'; *vīspā.vohū* 'who has all that is good'; *para.kauuistəma* 'the best observer' (Yt. 12.7) and its positive *parō.kauuīδəm* (Yt 10.102), etc. In some instances, the dot also separates the stem and the suffix/ending in a word; cf. the superl. adj. *spəṇtō.təma-* 'the most beneficient' (Y 37.3), the inst.pl. *drəguuō.dəbīš* (Y 29.2), or the dat./abl.pl. *drəguuō.dəbiiō* (Y 30.11), from the stem *drəguuaṇt-* 'deceiver, follower of the Lie' (≈ Skt. *drúhvan-* 'deceptive', from the root Av. *druj*, cf. PIE **dʰreu̯gʰ* 'deceive'). Note that, in these cases, it is typical to substitute the vowel *a* of the first element with *ō*, the typical composition vowel, i.e., < *drəguua°*, etc.[1]

The sign ·∴, the function of which is to separate the Avestan text from the accompanying interlinear translation, also appears in the manuscripts (cf. ch. 1, fn. 2). One can observe some examples of punctuation in the illustration on pg. iv, extracted from ms. J2.

§ 6   Historical Phonology

Avestan in its two varieties, when taken together with Old Persian, allows for the reconstruction of a Proto-Iranian language (Ir.); the stage preceding Proto-Iranian is Proto-Indo-Iranian (also called *Proto-Aryan*), which is reconstructed through the comparison of Proto-Iranian and Sanskrit (especially the oldest phase of the language: Vedic), which is a language closely related to Iranian.

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1   The original composition vowel is *a*, which is found in some isolated cases: *ustāna-zasta-* 'with outspread hands', *aša-cinah-* 'seeking *aša*'. In some instances, *ā* is also found, justifiably, to judge from parallel Skt. examples: *kamnānar-* 'with few men'; *vīspā.vohu* 'having all that is good' (Skt. *viśvāvasu-*). *ō*, of secondary origin, is the composition vowel of YAv., but it was successfully introduced into OAv. An *ə̄* also occurs as a composition vowel in a few rare instances: OAv. *manə̄.vista-* 'found in thought', and, consequently, is found before some endings as well; cf. § 7.9.4.

Comparison with other Indo-European languages, such as Greek, Latin, and Hittite ultimately allows for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European (PIE). Likewise, the history of each one of the features of the language does not consist solely of the description of the stages that the language goes through, but also of their relative chronologies. Changes, the product of the internal history of each language, are what determine the particular differences of each group, and, at the same time, of the languages/dialects that make up that group.

For the purposes of deriving the Avestan phonological system, we proceed from the following stage of Proto-Indo-European:

Vowels: *e o ē ō i u*

Consonants:

p	t	k	ḱ	kᵘ̯	s	h₁	h₂	h₃	i̯	u̯	l	r	m	n
b	d	g	ǵ	gᵘ̯										
bʰ	dʰ	gʰ	ǵʰ	gᵘ̯ʰ										

In addition, the following combinatorial variants, or allophones, occur:

  l̥ r̥ m̥ n̥ z

§7   Vowels

The Indo-European vowel system was simplified in Proto-Indo-Iranian, a condition that still holds in Proto-Iranian: the vowels *e o* (and their respective long vowels) all become *a* (and *ā* respectively), while the vowels *i* and *u* (and their respective long vowels) remain unchanged. In general, the following developments can be stated:

TABLE 2   *The Avestan vowels*

PIE *e *o	>	IIr. *a	>	Av. a	PIE *ē *ō	>	IIr. *ā	>	Av. ā
PIE *i *u	>	IIr. *i *u	>	Av. i u	PIE *ī *ū	>	IIr. *ī *ū	>	Av. ī ū

For Avestan, a vowel system very similar to that of Proto-Iranian is assumed. In addition to these vowels, Avestan also has a vowel *ə*, which sometimes functions as an anaptyctic vowel (§9), though other vowels, such as *ā̆*, *a*, and *ō* are found filling the same role (cf. §9.2.5).

§ 7.1. Comparison allows for the reconstruction of a vocalic system for Avestan, which one would hope to find faithfully reflected in the texts; however, the vowels in the text of the Avesta have undergone some additional changes.

For instance, it is not uncommon to encounter phenomena that result from the peculiarities of liturgical pronunciation (slow or quick chanting), introduced throughout the transmission. Some of these features may already have been present in the original language (cf. § 9).

§ 7.2. Between Old and Young Avestan, one primary difference that emerges is in the representation of final vowels. The vowels *a, ā, ə, ə̄, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō*, are always written as long vowels in word-final position in Old Avestan, while in Young Avestan, they are always written as short vowels, except for *-ə̄* and *-ō*, and in monosyllabic words (cf. §§ 7.11.3, 7.13.1). Before the enclitics °*cā* and °*ciṯ*, in Old Avestan, *i* and *u* usually shorten, while *ā* usually remains as such.

The vowels found in the text of the Avesta have direct correlates in the proto-language, or else are the products of specific phonetic developments. In the following sections, we present a list of the vowels that appear in the text of the Avesta, with the details of their respective histories.

§ 7.3. **a** derives from IIr. **a* < PIE **e, *o, *n̥, *m̥*.
  1. Sometimes, an *a* in the antepenultimate syllable is the product of shortening from *ā*: OAv. *caθβarasca* 'four' versus *caθβārō* 'id.' (Skt. *catvā́ras*); *dātaras-ca* versus *dātārō* (nom.pl. of *dātar-* 'creator'; ≈ Skt. *dātā́ras*); cf. also the ending of the thematic gen.pl. *-anąm* (versus Skt. *ānām*, OP *-ānām*; the final *-ām* is bisyllabic). The same phenomenon is seen in YAv. (but not OAv.) in the abl. ending *-āṯ* preceding the preposition *haca*: *ahmaṯ haca*.
  2. The IIr. sequence **āi̯a* sometimes becomes *ai̯a* in Avestan (just as in the other Eastern Iranian dialects): YAv. *asaiia-* 'without shadow' (cf. Skt. *chāyā́-*); *mazdaiiasna-* 'Mazdayasnian, of Mazdā'; *raiia* 'with wealth' (inst.sg.; Skt. *rāyā́*; but cf. gen.sg. OAv. *rāiiō*; Skt. *rāyás*). Shortening of prevocalic **āi̯* is quite sporadic: YAv. *vaiiu-* 'wind' (Skt. *vāyú-*).
  3. The IIr. seqence **āu̯a* occasionally develops to *au̯a* in Avestan (and in Eastern Iranian): *nauuāza-* 'navigator' (Skt. *nāvājá-*); Av. *aṣ̌auuan-* 'truthful, following *aṣ̌a* [truth]' (Skt. *r̥tā́van-*).

§ 7.4. **ā** derives from IIr. **ā* < PIE **ē, *ō* (and the corresponding short vowels preceding laryngeals), **m̥H, *n̥H* (YAv. *zāta-* 'born' < PIE **ǵn̥h₁-tó-*; Skt. *jātá-*, Lat. *gnātus*). Occasionally, *ā* is found instead of the expected *a*: **1.** after a labial consonant and before *š̌* (< **-rt-*): YAv. *vāš̌əm* 'wagon' < **varta-*; **2.** in initial syllables

(when followed by several other light syllables), one may find *ā* instead of *a*: *ārmaiti-* 'right-mindedness' (Skt. *arámati-*), *kāuuaiias-ca* 'princes' (Skt. *kaváyas*); **3.** often, in OAv., following *ii* or *uu* (i.e., following *Cii̯* / *Cuu̯*): *vii-ādarəsəm* (1.sg.aor.act.ind. of *dars* 'see'; cf. Skt. *adarśam*); *vərəziiātąm* (3.sg.pres. mid.impv. of *varz* 'carry out, do'; cf. Gr. ϝεργο-); ⁺*hōmiiāsaitē* (3.sg.pres.mid.ind. of *yam* 'hold'); *həṇ-duuārəṇtā* (3.pl.pres.mid.inj. of *duuar* 'run'); *xᵛə̄nuuātā* (inst.sg. of *xᵛanuuaṇt-* 'sunny').

4. Finally, mention should be made of the development PIE *o > IIr. *ā > Av. *ā* when the PIE vowel *o stood in an open syllable: cf. Gr. πατέρα, Av. *pitarəm*, Skt. *pitáram*, as opposed to Gr. δώτορα, Av. *dātārəm*, Skt. *dā́táram*. This phenomenon, which is frequently subject to intraparadigmatic regularization owing to the tendency to generalize but a single inflectional stem, is given the name of *Brugmann's Law* or simply Brugmann; cf. §§ 18.1.2, 18.5, 26.15, 32.1.c (but only possibly in the case of § 32.1.c).

§ 7.5. *å* reflects **1.** an *ā* preceding *ŋh* (< **-āsă̆-*; cf. § 5.2.3) or *ṇ* (i.e. *NC*; cf. § 11.3.2); OAv. *yå̄ŋhąm* (gen.pl.f. of the rel.pron. *ya-*; cf. Skt. *yā́sām*); YAv. *må̄ŋhəm* (acc.sg. of *māh-* 'moon'; cf. Skt. *mā́sam*); *då̊ŋ́hē* (2.sg.aor.mid.sbj. of *dā* 'give / put' < PIE *deh₃ / *dʰeh₁, resp.); *då̄ṇtē* (3.pl.aor.mid.sbj. of *dā*); YAv. *mazå̄ṇtəm* (acc.sg. of OAv. *mazaṇt-* 'great'; cf. Skt. *mahā́ntam*); *hacå̄ṇtē* (3.pl.pres.mid.sbj. of *hac* 'follow').

In inflection are found: **2.** final *-å̊#*, which derives from the IIr. sequence **-ās#*:[2] cf. OAv. *aētaŋ́hå̊* (gen.sg.f. of dem.pron. *aēta-* 'this'); OAv. *daēnå̊* (gen.sg./ nom.acc.pl. of *daēnā-* 'religion'; cf. the Skt. ending *-ās* of gen.sg./nom.acc.pl. of *ā*-stems.); **3.** the ending of the gen.du. is also *-å̊* < **-ās* (cf. Skt. *-oḥ*; the loc.du. has *-uuo* < **-au̯*; cf. § 10.3.4).

§ 7.6. *ą* is the product of **1.** the IIr. sequence *ă̆n* before a fricative: *x θ f s z š*: *mąθra-* 'formulation' (Skt. *mántra-*); YAv. *ązah-* 'tightness' (Skt. *áṁhas-*; Lat. *angus-tus*; < PIE **h₂émǵʰes-*); *dąhišta-* 'most expert' (Skt. *dáṁsiṣṭha-*) and *didąs* (3.sg.pres.act.inj. of *dąh* 'teach', Skt. *daṁs*; cf. Gr. δέδαε); *ąxnah-* 'rein' (cf. Gr. ἀγκ-ύλη; from PIE *h₂enk 'bend'); YAv. *frąš* 'forwards' (Skt. *prā́ṅ* < **prā́ṅk-ṣ*); OAv. *pąsnu-* 'dust' (Skt. *pāṁsú-*); *vąs* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. < IIr. **u̯ānst* from *van* 'win, prevail').

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[2] When the enclitic °*ca* is added, the vowel *å̊* is maintained by analogy: gen.sg. (*mazdā-*) *mazdå̊* and *mazdå̊sca*; nom.pl. (*daēna-*) *daēnå̊* and *daēnå̊sca*; acc.pl. (*sāsnā-*) *sāsnå̊* and *sāsnå̊sca*, etc.

An *ā* becomes *ą*: **2.** before a final nasal in all cases (-*ąm* -*ąn*): loc.sg. *dąm* 'at home'; Av. *θβąm* (acc.sg. 2.pers.pron.; Skt. *tvā́m*); OAv. *mąm* (acc.sg. 1.pers.pron.; OP *mām*, Skt. *mā́m*); *cašmąm* (loc.sg. of *cašman-* 'eye'); *nāmąm*, *nāmanąm* (acc.pl. [cf. § 11.3.3] and gen.pl. resp. of *nāman-* 'name'; cf. Skt. *nā́man-*, Lat. *nōmen*); **3.** in an open syllable before a nasal in some cases: YAv. *nąma* (nom./acc.neut.; cf. above; Skt. *nā́ma*); YAv. *dadąmi* (1.sg.pres.act.ind. of *dā* 'give / put'; Skt. *dád⁽ʰ⁾āmi*); but *hunāmi*; *uruuąnō* versus *uruuānō* (both nom.pl. of *uruuan-* 'spirit'). **4.** On *å* for *ą*, cf. § 5.2.1. **5.** On *ą* as an acc.pl. ending in YAv., cf. § 7.9.3.

§ 7.7. *ą̇* is found in some manuscripts instead of *ą*. Although it may initially seem that we are dealing with two graphic variants for the same phoneme, it is quite probable that, in the archetype, both signs corresponded to two distinct phonemes: *ą* would reflect a long, nazalized *ā* (cf. *nąma* or the ending -*ąm*), while *ą̇* would reflect a short, nazalized *ə*.

§ 7.8. *ə* represents **a* **1.** before a nasal: *həntī* (3.pl.pres.act.ind. of *ah* 'be'; Skt. *sánti*, Lat. *sunt*); *vazənti* (3.pl.pres.act.ind. of *vaz* 'lead'; cf. Skt. *váhanti* < PIE **u̯eǵʰ*); YAv. *barən* (3.pl.pres.act.inj. of *bar* 'carry'; cf. OP *abaraⁿ*; PIE **bʰer*); *ahurəm* (acc.sg. of *ahura-* 'lord'; Skt. *ásura-*); and **2.** also preceding -*uui-* (i.e., -*u̯i-*): *əuuīduuå̄* 'ignorant' (nom.sg.; Skt. *ávidvā̆ms-*); PIE **u̯ei̯d-* > IIr. ¹**u̯ai̯d-* 'find', ²**u̯ai̯d-* 'know'; *səuuišta-* (superl. of *sūra-* 'poweful'; Skt. *śáviṣṭha-*); *təuuīšī-* 'might' (Skt. *táviṣī-*); *kəuuīna-* PN versus nom.sg. *kauuā* (cf. Skt. *kaví-* 'seer'); YAv. *rəuuī-* 'swift' (< **raγu̯ī-*; cf. Skt. *ragh-ú-*, Gr. ἐλαχύς; PIE **h₁lengʰ-*).

3. *a* is, however, almost always preserved if **(a)** *ii* (*i̯*) or *uu* (*u̯*) precedes it:[3] *xšaiiamnō* (nom.sg. pres.part.mid. of *xšā* 'possess, be owner of'; cf Skt. *kṣáyati*); YAv. *auruuantəm* 'runner' (acc.sg.; Skt. *árvant-*); YAv. *bauuaṇtəm-ca* (acc.sg. pres.part of *bū*; Skt. *bhū́*); *a*, though, is never preserved as such before a final nasal -*aN#*, even when *ii* or *uu* precedes it: OAv. *bąnaiiən* (3.pl.pres.act.inj. of *ban* 'be ill'); *rå̄ŋhaiiən* (3.pl.pres.act.inj. of *rah* 'move away from'); or **(b)** before nasal followed by *ii*: OAv. *kainibiiō*, YAv. *kainiiō* (dat.pl. and acc.pl., resp., of *kainīn-* 'girl'; Skt. *kanyà̀*; Gr. καινός?) OAv. *spaniiå̄*, YAv. *spainiiaŋhəm* (nom.sg. and acc.sg., resp., of the comparative *spainiiah-* to *spəṇta-* 'sacred'); *mańiiuš* 'spirit' (nom.sg.; Skt. *manyú-*). Even though *a* before a nasal always became *ə̆*, YAv. has sometimes restored original *am* and mostly restored original *an*

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3 The pres.part.mid. *saiianəm* 'lying', whose short vowel is unexpected, is not to be included here, cf. Skt. *śáyāna-*.

in word-internal position, whence it was introduced into OAv.: cf. Av. *nəmah-* 'homage' (Skt. *námas-*), but Av. *manah-* 'thought' (Skt. *mánas-*). **4.** On the original development of *a* in YAv., cf. § 7.14.4 (*a > ə > ı̆*; cf. also fn. 6 below), § 7.16.1 (*a > ə > u*). **5.** On *ə* as an anaptyctic vowel, cf. § 9.2.5.

§ 7.9. *ə̄* is found **1.** often in OAv. passages as the outcome of *a* before a nasal (but cf. § 7.8): *aniiə̄n* (acc.sg.m. of *aniia-* 'other'; cf. Skt. *anyá-*), *vərəzə̄na-* 'community, clan' (Skt. *vr̥jána-*), *xᵛə̄nuuaṇt-* 'sunny' (*xᵛan-* 'sun'; cf. Skt. *svàr-* 'id.'), *hacə̄na-* 'fellowship' (Skt. *sacaná-*); *hacə̄mnā* (nom.sg.f. pres.part.mid. of *hac*; Skt. *sácate*); **2.** in OAv., it reflects an *a* preceding the sequence *hm*: *ə̄hmā* (acc.pl. 1.pers.pron.; YAv. *ahma*); in YAv., *a* is preserved (or perhaps underwent a reversion *ə > a*),[4] and from there it was extended into OAv.: OAv. *mahmāi* (dat.sg.neut. of *ma-* 'my'); *ahmaṭ* (abl.pl. of *azə̄m* 'I', Skt. *asmát*), etc.; **3.** before the cluster *ŋgh* < IIr. **ns*: *mə̄ŋghāi* (1.sg.aor.mid.sbj. of *man* < **mansāi̯*); OAv. *və̄ŋghaṭ, və̄ŋghaitī* (2. and 3.sg.aor.act.sbj., resp., of *van*; cf. Skt. *váṁsat*); *sə̄ŋgha-* 'explanation' (YAv. *saŋha-*; Skt. *śáṁsa-*); but not before *-ŋh-* < **-ă̄să̆-*: *manaŋhā* (inst.sg. of *manah-*; YAv. *manaŋha*; Skt. *mánasā*); finally, cf. *tə̄ŋg* (acc.pl.m. dem.pron.; Skt. *tā́n*); *aməšə̄ŋg* (acc.pl.m of *aməša-* 'immortal'); *vīspə̄ŋg* (acc.pl. of *vīspa-* 'all'; Skt. *víśva-*). The ending **-ans > OAv. -ə̄ŋg / YAv. -ə̄*: YAv. *aməšə̄, vīspə̄, puθrə̄* (acc.pl.; the YAv. ending *-ą* results from the preservation of nasalization when *m, n, ii,* or *h* preceded the vowel, while *ə̄* was the denasalized outcome elsewhere: YAv. *haomą, aēsmą, imą*, and from there was extended to other cases: *mazištə̄ amą → mazištą amą*).

    4. Likewise, *ə̄*, in OAv., develops from IIr. final **-as* (Skt. *-as > -aḥ*): *tarə̄°* 'across, over' (prev.; YAv. *tarō*, Skt. *tirás*); *ciθrə̄* (nom.sg.m. of *ciθra-* 'brilliant'; Skt. *citrá-*); *mə̄* (nom.sg. of *ma-*); *parə̄* 'beyond' (adv.; YAv. *parō*, Skt. *parás*); *sarə̄* (abl.sg. of *sar-* 'union'); *hazə̄* (nom.sg.neut. of *hazah-* 'power, dominion'; Skt. *sáhas-*); *və̄* (gen.pl. encl. of 2.pers.pron.; Skt. *vas*); in YAv., the same final sequence also resulted in *-ə̄*, but was replaced by *-ō*, which was in turn introduced into OAv. (cf. § 7.13.1).

    In some forms, YAv. preserves the old final sequence when it occurs word-internally: cf. YAv. *raocə̄biiō,* (OAv.) YAv. *raocə̄bīš* (dat./abl.pl. and inst.pl., resp., of *raocah-* 'light', from a nom. **raocə̄*); *vacə̄bīš* (inst.pl. of *vacah-* 'word'; Skt. *vácas-*) from an OAv. nom. *vacə̄* (cf. 19.1.1). In these examples, *ə̄* can be interpreted as a composition vowel (cf. fn. 1 above).

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4 Called *Rückverwandlung* [reversion] by analogy to some phenomena concerning Attic Greek vocalism.

§ 7.10. e comes from **1.** an *a* after *i̯*, followed by a palatal consonant or a syllable that contains *i*, *ii̯*, or *ě̆* (i.e., in a palatal environment): cf. *iθii̯ejah-* 'abandonment' (Skt. *tyájas-*); *yesnē* (loc.sg. of *yasna-* 'sacrifice'; Skt. *yajñá-*) and its derivative *yesniia-* (Skt. *yajñíya-*); OAv. *xšaiiehī*, YAv. *xšaiieite* (2.sg.pres.act.ind. and 3.sg.pres.mid.ind., resp., of *xšā*; Skt. *kṣáyasi*), *srāuuahiieitī* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *srāuuahiia-* 'seek fame').⁵ This change does not occur before *r*, *uu*, or *hm*: cf. YAv. *fraiiaire* 'morning'; *mainii̯auue* (dat.sg. of *mańiiu-* 'spirit'); OAv. *yahmī* (loc.sg.m. rel.pron. *ya-*; contrast the gen.sg.m *yehiiā*).

    2. In YAv., *e* may also derive from the sequence *i̯a* that is so frequent in the gen.sg.m. of the thematic inflection: PIE **-osi̯o* > **-ahi̯a* > (OAv. *-ahiia*) YAv. *-ahe* (cf. further § 11.1.1). **3.** On the YAv. development *-e#* < **-ai̯#*, cf. § 10.2.2.

§ 7.11. ē 1. results from the *gathacization* of the YAv. sequence *-e#* < **-ai̯* (cf. 10.2.2), which, in OAv., should have been *-ōi* (and indeed is, almost always). **2.** It is encountered in OAv. in some outcomes of the IIr. diphthong **ai̯*: *vaēdā̆*, *mruii̯ē* (< **mruu̯ai̯*; cf. 10.2.3); **3.** it also appears in monosyllables ending in *-e* in OAv.: *tē* (nom.pl.m. dem.pron. *ta-*; contrast *aēte*; Skt. *té*, Gr. τοί).

§ 7.12. o 1. comes from an *a* after *m*, *p*, or *u̯*, followed by a syllable that contains *u* (not *u̯*): *mošu* 'soon' (Skt. *makṣū́*); *pouru-* 'much' (Skt. *purú-*, OP *paruv*); *vohu-* 'good' (Skt. *vásu-*). If the intervening consonant is palatal, dental, or labiodental, there is no rounding: *pasu-* 'livestock' (Skt. *paśu-*); YAv. *maδu-* 'wine' (Skt. *mádhu-*, Gr. μέθυ). **2.** *o* also occurs in some outcomes of the IIr. diphthong **au̯*; cf. § 10.3.1.

§ 7.13. 1. ō corresponds to IIr. final sequence **-as#*. This final sequence became *-ə̄* in OAv. and *-ə̄* > *-ō* in YAv. (cf. § 7.9.4), whence it was introduced into OAv., supplanting the original *-ə̄* almost everywhere: YAv. *vacō* (nom.sg.neut. of *vacah-*); *kō* (nom.sg.m. interr.pron. *ka-* 'who?'); *vō* (dat.gen.pl. encl. of the pers.pron.2. *tuu̯ām* 'you'; Skt. *vas*); contrast OAv. *vacā̆* (also *vacō*), *kā̆*, *vā̆*. **2. ō** appears as the usual composition vowel (cf. § 5.4. and fn. 1 above): *parō.kauuīδəm*, *drəguuō.dəbīš*. **3.** In OAv., **ō** sometimes represents an *ă̆* or *ə* before the sequence *rC*: OAv. *cōrət̰* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *kar* 'make, do'; << **car-t*; cf. Skt. *á-kar*); OAv. *θβōrəštar-* 'creator' (Skt. *tváṣṭar-*; IIr. **tu̯arć-* 'shape, create'); OAv. *dōrəšt* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *dar* 'hold'; also OAv. *dārəšt*; < **dʰār-š-t*). **4. ō** also appears in some outcomes of IIr. **-au̯*: *gātuuō*, *haētō*; cf. § 10.3.4.

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⁵ In the course of transmission, forms such as *aṣ̌ā.yecā* (dat.sg. < *aṣ̌āi̯a-cā*) also appear. On the thematic dat.sg., cf. § 19.1.7.

§ 7.14. On the whole, *i* and *ī* are preserved as such in most cases, though, in a number of contexts, *i* is lengthened to *ī* and *ī* can be shortened to *i*. *i* usually appears **1.** as the reflex of IIr. **i*; Av. *hiš.haxti* (3.sg.pres. act.ind. of *sac* 'follow'; Skt. *síṣakti*); *pitum* (acc.sg. of *pitu-* 'food'; Skt. *pitú-*); **2.** as the shortened outcome of IIr. **ī* before *uu* (Av. *piuuah-* 'fat', Skt. *pī́vas-*); **3.** as the YAv. outcome of the development of *ə* (< **a*; cf. §7.8) after *i̯, c, j*: YAv. *yim* (acc.sg.m. rel.pron. *ya-*; < **i̯əm* < **i̯am*; OAv. *yə̄m*); YAv. *yima-* PN (OAv. *yə̄ma-*, Skt. *yamá-*); YAv. *drujim* (acc.sg. of *druj-* 'Lie'; OAv. *drujə̄m*); YAv. *haciṇte* (3.pl.pres.mid.ind.; Skt. *sácante*);[6] for the conditions on the preservation of *a*, cf. §7.8.3.

4. In isolated cases, and in a close relationship with the position of the accent, *i* can also come from the vocalization **ə* of a Proto-Iranian laryngeal phoneme **H*, in turn deriving from the PIE laryngeals **h₁₋₃*: cf. YAv. nom.sg. *pita* << Proto-Av. **pHtár*, influenced by the accent of the voc. *pótar*, versus the OAv. dat.sg. *fəδrōi̯* < Proto-Av. **pHtrai̯*. **6.** On *i* as a product of epenthesis, cf. §8.1; on anaptyctic *i*, cf. §9.2.5.

§ 7.15. **ī** usually reflects IIr. **ī*. It renders lengthening of short **i* in the following environments: **1.** after *u̯, uu, ŋᵛh*, and *xᵛ* in an open syllable: *xᵛīti-* 'well accessible, accessibility' (*hu+i-ti-*); *āuuīšiia-* 'apparent' (from the adv. *āuuiš*; Skt. [**áviṣiya-*] *áviṣṭiya-*); *təuuīšī-* 'strength' (Skt. *táviṣī-*); contrast *əuuisti-* 'not finding' (from *vid* 'find' [cf. §7.8.2]; Skt. *ávitti-*); *təuuiš-cā* 'brutality'; *səuuišta-* 'most powerful' (superl.; Skt. *sáviṣṭha-*), YAv. *stāuuišta-* 'biggest' (superl.; Skt. *sthávišṭa-*). **ī** also reflects **i* and **i̯a* (the latter only in YAv.) **2.** before final *-m#*: YAv. *axtīm* (acc.sg. of *axti-* 'pain'); *dąmīm* (acc.sg. of *dąmi-* 'founder'); YAv. *paitīm* (acc.sg. of *paiti-* 'lord'), YAv. *haiθīm* (acc.sg. of *haiθiia-* 'real'; Skt. *satyám*); **3.** as part of the outcome of the sequence **ins*: *gairīš* (acc.pl. of *gairi-* 'mountain': < **iNs*); OAv. *cīšmahī*, YAv. *cīšmaide* (< **ci-n-sᵒ*; 1.pl.pres.act.ind. and mid., resp., of *ciš* 'gather' < PIE **kʷei̯s*; Lat. *cūrāre*); **4.** in general, in the ending of the inst.pl., *-bīš*; **5.** consistently in the preverb *vī* 'separately, *dis-*' < **vi*. **6.** Sometimes, **i* is lengthened in open, mainly word-initial, syllables: OAv. *jūgərəzaṯ* 'complains' < **ji-gr̥z-a-t*, YAv. *zīzana-* 'beget' < **zi-zan-a-*; **7.** **i* is often lengthened before *š* and *ž*: *mīžda-* 'prize' < **mižda-*. **8.** On the YAv. development of *a > ə > ĭ*, cf. §7.14.3 and fn. 6 below.

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6 **i̯ə* in the sequence **Ci̯əN* developed to **i̯i* and later to YAv. *ĭ*. From there, it was introduced into OAv.: YAv. *ainĭm* (acc.sg. of *aniia-* 'other'; Skt. *anyám*) beside OAv. *aniiə̄m*, *ainīm*; YAv. *frīm* (acc.sg. of *friia-* 'dear'; Skt. *priyám*); OAv., YAv. *haiθīm* (acc.sg.of *haiθiia-* 'truth'; Skt. *satyám*) beside OAv. *haiθiiə̄m*.

§ 7.16. u and **ū** also largely retain their etymological distribution, though *u is affected by lengthening more regularly than *i. Av. short *u* can be: **1.** the reflex of *u in a closed syllable (Av. *uxšan-* 'bull', Skt. *ukṣán-*, *supti-* 'shoulder', Skt. *śúpti-*) or in a non-initial open syllable (*ahura-* 'lord', *tauruna-* 'young'); **2.** the reflex of *ū before *ii*: *apuiiaṇt-* 'not deteriorating' < **apuHi̯ant-* (Skt. *pūyati* 'stinks'). **3.** On epenthetic *u*, cf. § 8.2; on anaptyctic *u*, cf. § 9.2.3. **4.** On the YAv. development of *a* > *ə* > *ŭ*, cf. § 7.17.5.

§ 7.17. ū usually reflects: **1.** IIr. *ū; **2.** IIr. *u in an open initial syllable (*būna-* 'bottom' < **buna-* < **budna-*; *stūta-* 'praised' < **stuta-*); **3.** *u after **i̯* (*yūkta-* 'yoked', Skt. *yuktá-*); **4.** *u when affected by *i*-epenthesis (*āhūiri-* 'ahuric' < **āhuri-*, *vərənūiδi* 'cover!' < **vr̥nudi*); **5.** *u and **u̯a* before final *-m#*: **(a)** *gātūm* (acc.sg. of *gātu-* 'road'; Skt. *gātú-*); *dax́iiūm* (acc.sg. of *dax́iiu-* 'country'; Skt. *dásyu-*); **(b)** as the YAv. outcome of the development of *ə* (< *a; cf. § 7.8) after *u̯*: YAv. *tūm* 'you' (nom.sg. of the 2.pers.pron.; OAv. *tuu̯ə̄m*, Skt. *tvám*); YAv. *tanūm* (acc.sg. of *tanū-* 'body'; OAv. *tanuu̯əm*, Skt. *tanvàm*); YAv. *θrišū̆m* (acc.sg. of *θrišuua-* 'third'); YAv. *haurūm* (acc.sg. *hauruua-* 'all, whole'; Skt. *sárvam*); **6.** as part of the outcome of the sequence *uns: *aidiiūš* (acc.pl. of *aidiiu-* 'harmless'; Skt. *ádyu-*); *xratūš* (acc.pl. of *xratu-* 'intelligence'; Skt. *krátu-*); **7.** *ū* also represents the YAv. outcome of final **-ans* after *u̯* by way of **u̯ə̄ŋh* > **u̯ə̯ə̄* > **u̯u̯ū* > *ū*: YAv. *zrū* (gen.sg. of *zruuan-* 'time'); YAv. *hū* (gen.sg. of *x^van-*).

§ 8   Epenthetic Vowels

The insertion of the epenthetic vowels *i* and *u* in specific contexts is a very common phenomenon in the Avestan texts. The epenthesis of *i* indicates the palatalization of the affected phonemes, while that of *u* indicates labialization. It seems that epenthesis occurs only once per word, and can coexist with anaptyctic vowels (§ 9).

§ 8.1. i is inserted before consonants followed by *ĭ*, *ii*, or *ĕ*: *irixta-* (adj. from *ric* 'leave'; Skt. *riktá-* < **lei̯k^u-*); *iθii̯ejah-* 'abandonment' (Skt. *tyájas-*); Av. *airii̯aman-* 'tribe' (Skt. *aryamán-*); *aēibii̯ō* (dat.pl.m. of the dem.pron. *ta-* 'this'; Skt. *ebhyás*); *kainīn* 'girl' (Skt. *kanī°*); *x^vāpaiθii̯a-* 'fecund' (Skt. *svapatyá-*); *baraitĭ̆* (3.sg.pres. act.ind. of *bar* 'carry'; Skt. *bhárati*); *ākərəiti-* 'pattern, arrangement' (Skt. *ā́kr̥ti-*); *mərəiθiiu-* 'death' (Skt. *mr̥tyú-*); *daibitā* (adv.; Skt. *dvitā́*); OAv. *daibišaii̯aṇt-* 'enemy' (YAv. *t̰bišaii̯aṇt-* < **du̯ei̯s-*; cf. Skt. *dvéṣṭi* ≈ Gr. δείδω); *hacaitĕ̆* (3.sg.pres. mid.ind. of *hac*; Skt. *sácate*); *haxmainē* (dat.sg. of *haxman-* 'retinue'; cf. the same ending in Skt. *-mane*); *zairimii̯a-* 'house' (Skt. *harmi̯á-*).

Epenthesis of *i* is not found before *ń*, *ŋ́*, *st*, *št*, *m*, or *hm*, nor after *ə̆* (< *aN). The enclititc °*ca* prevents the epenthesis that endings in *ī̆* and *ē̆* induce: *drəguuataē-cā* (dat.sg.m.) versus *drəguuāite*; *jāŋghati-cā* (3.sg.) versus *sāŋghaitī*.

§ 8.2. u appears exclusively before *ru* and *ru̯*: *pourūš* (acc.pl. of *pouru-* 'much'); Skt. *purú-*; YAv. *dāuru-* 'wood' (Skt. *dā́ru-*); *hauruuatāt-* 'wholeness' (Skt. *sarvá-tāti-*). In some cases, metathesis together with a later epenthesis is at work: *uruuata-* 'law' (*ᵘruu /ru̯/* < *ur; Skt. *vratá-*); *uruuādah-* 'happiness' (cf. Skt. *vrādh*).

The sequence **ru̯ĭ̆* has a special development in YAv., namely, the *u̯* was lost, though it left a trace through epenthesis, which affected the preceding vowel or created a diphthong, and thus permitted the later epenthesis with *i*: YAv. *paoiriia-* 'first' < **pau̯riia-* < **paru̯iia-* > OAv. *pa(o)uruiia-*; *brātŭiriia-* 'cousin' < **brātəuria-* < **brātəru̯iia-* (Skt. *bhrā́tr̥vya-*); *tūiriia-* 'uncle' < **p(ə)turia-* < **(p)təru̯iia-* (Skt. *pitr̥vya-*).

§ 9   Anaptyctic Vowels

Frequent instances of anaptyctic vowels, also referred to as *svarabhakti*, occur in the text. Anaptyctic vowels arise in clusters of occlusives, thus facilitating the liturgical recitation. In addition, most of the time, they have been introduced by different schools in the course of transmission (cf., for example, §§ 4.1.2, 4.1.3). The vowel *ə* after *r* is purely phonetic (i.e., it is neither present in a word's underlying form, nor inserted through any phonological process). Anaptyctic vowels are metrically irrelevant.

§ 9.1. One may speak of several different anaptyctic vowels (*ə̄*, *a*, *o*, *i*), though the usual one, which appears in the majority of cases, is *ə*: YAv. *dəmāna-* 'house' (Skt. *mā́na-*); *x*ᵛ*afəna-* 'dream' (Skt. *svápna-*); *fəδrōi* (dat.sg. of *ptar-* 'father'; < **pHtrai̯* > Skt. *pitré*); *haxəmā* (nom./acc.sg. of *haxman-*); *θβōrəštar-* (Skt. *tváṣṭar-*; cf. § 7.13.3); *nərąš* (acc.pl. of *nar-* 'man' < *nərNš); *ərəzu-* 'straight' (Skt. *r̥jú-*); *darəθra-* 'support' (Skt. *dhartrá-*); *darəsəm* (1.sg.aor.act.inj. of *dars* 'see'; cf. Skt. *dárśam*); two cases that have already been mentioned in which anaptyxis combines with epenthesis are *ākərəiti-* (§ 8.1) and *mərəiθiiu-* (§ 8.1).

Final *-r* usually appears as OAv. *-rə̄* and YAv. *-rə*: *vadarə̄̆* 'weapon' (neut.; Skt. *vádhar-*); *huuarə̄̆* 'sun' (stem *x*ᵛ*an-* neut.; Skt. *svàr-*).

§ 9.2. In effect, the rest of the vowels are usually employed much less frequently: sometimes seen are **1.** an *a*: *starə̄m-ca* (gen.pl. of *star-* 'star'; v.l. *strə̄mca*; Skt. *star-*); *šiiaoθana-* 'act, deed' (v.l. *šiiaoθəna-*; YAv. *šiiaoθna-*; cf. further § 11.23); *varatā* (3.sg.aor.mid.inj. of *var* 'choose'; metrically disyllabic; but *fra-uuarətā*). Anaptyxis combines with epenthesis in *d*ai*bitā* (§ 8.1). In some even rarer cases, the following vowels appear: **2.** *ə̄*: OAv. *də̄jāmāspa-* PN (YAv. *jāmaspa-*); **3.** *u*: *bərədubiiō* (dat.pl.); YAv. *su*runaoiti (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *sru*); **4.** *ō*: *θβarōždūm* (2.pl.aor.mid.inj. of *θβars* 'shape'; versus *θrāzdūm* from *θrā*); *garōbīš* (inst.pl. of *gar-* 'song'); **5.** *i*: *azdibīš* (inst.pl. of *ast-* 'bone'; v.l. *azdəbīš*); *mazibīš* (inst.pl. of *maz-* 'great'); YAv. *ni-sirinaoiti* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *sri* 'lean').

§ 10   Diphthongs

As a result of the changes of PIE **e* and **o* to IIr. **a*, and of PIE **ē* and **ō* to IIr. **ā*, Indo-Iranian possessed only four diphthongs: two with a short vowel, **ai̯* and **au̯*, and two with a long vowel, **āi̯* and **āu̯*. In the Avestan writing system, these diphthongs are not represented by their own graphemes, but their various outcomes are reflected, rather, by the combinations of vowel signs. In this way, the phonetic details are rendered.

The IIr. diphthong **ai̯* occasions two distinct outcomes, depending upon the position in the word in which it is found. Although it is possible to systematize these outcomes, unexpected correspondences are found at times.

§ 10.1. The spelling **aē** represents **1.** the outcome of the IIr. diphthong **ai* in **(a)** initial position: *aēša-* 'search' (Skt. *éṣa-*); *aēšəma-* 'ire' (cf. Skt. *íṣyati*, Gr. οἶμα, Lat. *īra*); YAv. *aēsma-* 'firewood' (< **ai̯zma-* < **ai̯dzʰma-*; cf. Skt. *idhmá-*); or **(b)** in an open syllable: *vaēdā̆* 1./3.sg.perf.act.ind. of *vid* 'know' versus 2.sg. *vōistā*; cf. another example below § 10.2.1.[7]

2. *aē* is likewise the outcome of the group **ai̯a* before a nasal, by way of the possible development > **ai̯ə* > **aï* > *aē*: OAv. *aēm* (nom.sg. of *ima-* 'this'; also OAv. *aiiə̄m*, Skt. *ayám*); *vaēm* (nom.pl. of *azəm* 'I'; Skt. *vayám*); *gaēm* (acc.sg.

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7 *ōi* is frequently found instead of *aē*: OAv. *cōiθaṯ* (3.sg.aor.act.sbj. of *cit* 'notice'); *cōišəm* (1.sg.aor. act.inj. of *ciš*); *dōišā* (1.sg.aor.act.sbj. of *dis* 'show'); *mōiθaṯ* (3.sg.aor.act.sbj. of *miθ* 'leave'); YAv. *būiδiiōimaiδe* (1.pl.pres.mid.opt. of *bud* 'sense'; cf. Skt. *bhávemahi* of *bhavⁱ*; versus 3.sg. *būiδiiaēta*; cf. Skt. *bháveta*); OAv. *vaocōimā-ca* (1.pl.aor.act.opt. of *vac*; cf. Skt. *bhávema*; versus OAv. *apaēmā* to *āp*, or *hanaēmācā* to *han*).

of *gaiia-* 'life'; Skt. *gáyam*); YAv. *bərəjaēm* (1.sg.pres.act.inj. of *barj* 'greet'); YAv. *vī-dāraēm* (1.sg.pres.act.inj. of *dar* 'hold').[8] The YAv. form *raēm* (acc.sg. of *rǎii-* 'wealth'; < **reh₁i-*; cf. Skt. *rayím*) falls under the preceding development: **raįim* > **raim* > *raēm*.

§ 10.2. The spelling **ōi** reflects the outcome of the IIr. diphthong **aį* **1.** in a closed syllable: YAv. *vōiɣnā-* 'wave' versus *vaēɣa-* 'strike' (Skt. *véga-*); **2.** in final position in OAv.: *narōi* (dat.sg. of *nar-* 'man'; YAv. *naire*, Skt. *náre*); *fəδrōi* (dat.sg. of *ptar-* 'father'; YAv. *piθre*, Skt. *pitré*);[9] in this position, YAv. shows *-e* (except in *yōi* and *maiδiiōi*), which was in turn (re)introduced into OAv. (§ 7.11.1).

    3. Some cases, such as OAv. *mruiiē* (1.sg.pres.mid.ind. of *mrū*), OAv. *tanuiiē* (dat.sg. of *tanū-*), and YAv. *uiie* (nom.du.f. of *uba-* 'both'; OAv. *ubē*), exhibit a phonetic development **-ṷaį* > **-uṷaį* > OAv. *-uṷe* > YAv. *-uiiě*, which was in turn introduced into OAv.

§ 10.3. The spelling **ao** represents **1.** the outcome of the IIr. diphthong **aṷ*: OAv. *aojah-* 'strength' (Skt. *ójas-*; cf. Lat. *augēre*); *aošah-* 'burn' (cf. Skt. *oṣati*, Gr. εὕω, Lat. *ūrō*); *raocah-* 'light' (Skt. *°rocas-*, Gr. λευκός, Lat. *lūx*; < PIE **leṷk*); *sraotū* (3.sg.aor.act.impv. of *sru*); *mraotū* (3.sg.pres.act.impv. of *mrū* 'speak'); **2.** in some cases, YAv. *ao* reflects a recent (non-original) sequence *au*: YAv. *paoiriia-* 'first' (§ 8.2; OP *paruviya-*); YAv. *aoi* (variant of *auui*, also YAv. *aiβi*, OAv. *aibī*, Skt. *abhí*).

    3. *ao* is likewise the outcome of **aṷa* before a nasal, by way of a possible phonetic development **aṷə* > **aṷu* > **au* > *ao*: *naoma* 'ninth' (Skt. *navamá-*); YAv. *abaom* (1.sg.impf.act.ind. of *bū*; Skt. *ábhavam*); YAv. *mraom* (1.sg.pres.act.inj. of *mrū*; Skt. *ábravam*).

    4. In final position, the IIr. diphthong **-aṷ* becomes *-uuō* in the majority of cases: YAv. *daṅhuuō* (loc.sg. of *daṅhu-* 'country'; < **dahįaṷ-*); OAv. *huuō* 'that' (OP *hauv* < **haṷ*); YAv. *huxratuuō* (voc.sg. of *huxratu-* 'intelligent'; Skt. *sukrato*). In some cases, **-aṷ* resulted in *-ō*: YAv. *zastaiiō* (loc.sg. of *zasta-* 'hand'); YAv. *vaiiō* (voc.sg. of *vaiiu-*; Skt. *vāyo*); YAv. *haētō* (loc.sg. of *haētu-* 'bridge'). It is likely that **-aṷ* underwent monophthongization to *ō* (parallel to the change of **-ai* to

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8 In contrast, the forms of the 3.pl. in **-aįan* are transmitted as *-aiiən*: *bərəjaiiən*, *vi-δāraiiən*, etc.

9 *aē* is found instead of *ōi* in some words: YAv. *maēsma-* 'urine' (*maēza-* 'id.'; cf. Gr. ὀμείχω; < **h₃meiǵʰ-*); OAv. *°naēstar-* 'slanderer' (from *nid*: cf. § 10.5.1); YAv. *raēθβa-* 'clump' (and its denominative); *raθaēštā-* 'warrior' (and *raθōištā-*; Skt. *ratheṣṭā́-*); YAv. *pairi.uruuaēšta-* 'he who best destroys'; *sraēšta-* 'most beautiful' (Skt. *śréṣṭha-*); OAv. *hamaēstar-* 'despoiler' (from *miθ*).

-*e*, cf. § 10.2.2), which later diphthongized in [*uō*] (written -*uuō*) in many forms, though not after -*ii*-.

§ 10.4. The spelling **ə̄u** represents, as a general rule, the outcome of the IIr. diphthong *aṷ before -*š*#: cf. the gen.sg. forms *gə̄uš*, *mańiiə̄uš*, OAv. *dax́iiə̄uš*, YAv. *daṅhə̄uš*. In YAv., final -*aoš* (*diiaoš* [from *diiauu*-], *draoš* [from *dāuru*-], *rašnaoš*) is more frequent and probably results from restoration of *-*au*- in the *u*-stems. Final -*aoš* was also introduced in OAv.: ⁺*mərəiθiiaoš*; conversely, OAv. final -*ə̄uš* expanded into YAv.

§ 10.5. The spelling **āi** represents 1. the IIr. diphthong *ā*i̯*: OAv. ⁺*āiš* (3.sg.aor. act.ind. of *iš* 'desire'; cf. Skt. *aiṣīt*); OAv. *dāiš* (2.sg.aor.act.inj. of *dis* 'point'; < *dāić-š-s < *dēi̯ḱ-s-s); YAv. *nāismī*, *nāist* (1.sg.act.ind, 3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *nid* 'insult, reproach');

2. the sequence *āi* before a nasal can be the result of *ā*i̯a*, by way of a possible development > *ā*i̯ə* > *ā*i̯i* > *āi*: YAv. °*gāim* (acc.sg. of °*gāiia*- 'step'; Skt. °*gāyá*-); OAv. *humāīm* (acc.sg. of *humāiia*-; Skt. *sumāyá*-). On *ā*i̯a* > *ai̯a*, cf. § 7.3.2.

3. Note that epenthesis with *i* after *ā* does not differ graphically from the original diphthong *āi*: *drəguuāite*.

§ 10.6. The spelling **āu** represents 1. the IIr. diphthong *ā*ṷ*: YAv. *gāuš* 'cow' (Skt. *gáuḥ*); *xšnāuš* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *xšnu*- 'welcome'); *vaṅhāu* (loc.sg. of *vohu*-); ⁺*xratāu* (loc.sg. of *xratu*-; Skt. *krátau*).

2. *āu* is likewise the result of *ā*ṷa* before a nasal, by way of a possible phonetic development > *ā*ṷə* > *ā*uu* > *āu*: YAv. *nasāum* (acc.sg. of *nasu*- 'cadaver'); cf. further YAv. *ašāum* (voc.sg. of *ašauuan*-; Skt. *ṛtávan*-; cf. § 11.3.3). On *ā*ṷa* > *a*ṷa*, cf. § 7.3.3.

3. Epenthesis with *u* after *ā* does not differ graphically from the original diphthong *āu*: *dāuru*- (Skt. *dā́ru*-, Gr. δόρυ).

§ 11   Consonants

The system of consonants reconstructed for Indo-European (cf. § 6), in its history leading up to Avestan, has undergone a considerable number of changes, which have completely disfigured the original system. These changes are in part due to the developments of the separate phonemes on their own, and in part to the specific developments of groups of two or more consonants. The comparison of the Iranian material with that of Indo-Aryan allows, again, the reconstruction of an Indo-Iranian consonant system.

In consonantism, some notable differences exist between OAv. and YAv., for example, as regards the preservation of BARTHOLOMAE clusters (§ 11.11.1), fricativization (§ 11.11), etc.

The consonants of Iranian may be classified into 1. sonorants (semivowels and liquids); 2. nasals; 3. occlusives; 4. fricatives; 5. sibilants. The consonants maintain, with some variation, a similar organization in Avestan (where further new fricatives have arisen).

§ 11.1 The Semivowels: *i̯*, *u̯*

1. The PIE sonorant **i̯* is maintained as such in Indo-Iranian and in Avestan as well, where it is represented by *ẏ* (*y*) at the beginning of the word and by *ii* word-internally. It has already been pointed out above that the letter *ẏ* ᭞ was probably, from the outset, intended to graphically represent initial #*i̯*, while in the Indian manuscripts *y* ᰀ, which would be the letter corresponding to the palatal fricative *ź* (< Ir. **i̯i̯*), was employed.

Medial *i̯* often disappears before *e* (cf. § 7.10): Av. *vahehīš* (nom.pl.fem. of the comparative *vahiiah-* to *vohu-*; < **u̯ahi̯ehī́ḥ*; Skt. *vásyasīḥ*); the YAv. ending of the dat.sg. of *i*-stems: *-ōe < *ai̯ai̯ >* Skt. *-aye*, OAv. *-ōiiōi*; also in YAv., the ending of the thematic gen.sg.masc. *-ahe* (but OAv. *-ahiiā* § 7.10.3).

2. The PIE sonorant **u̯* is maintained as such in Indo-Iranian and in Avestan as well, where it is written as *v* at the beginning of the word and as *uu* word-internally.[10]

3. The distinct graphic values of the semivowels according to their position in the word necessarily reflect distinct pronunciations. It is quite probable that, in initial position, the semivowels could have begun to develop into voiced fricatives (as in a prestage of Modern Persian: *ǰ < *i̯* and *b < *u̯*), while in medial position, *i̯* and *u̯* would have reflected *i̯i̯* and *u̯u̯*, respectively: Av. *friia-* 'dear' (Skt. *priyá-*); YAv. *druua-* 'hale, steadfast' (Skt. *dhruvá-*). The orthographic conventions of Avestan (cf. § 7.2) further indicate that YAv. *jiia* 'bowstring' (Skt. *jyā́-*) and *kuua* 'where' (Skt. *kvà*) must be disyllabic (in virtue of having *-ă#*).

These changes to **i̯* and **u̯* must have taken place in western Iran, most likely influenced by Old Persian, and are commonly considered to be present in the archetype. In fact, in Old Persian, post-consonantal semivowels are written with *iy* and *uv*: cf. Av. *ańiia-*, OP *aniya-*, Skt. *anyá- < *ani̯a-*; Av. *hauruua-* OP *haruva-*, Skt. *sárva- < *saru̯a-*. However, this Old Persian phenomenon

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10 *ii* and *uu* used to be regularly transcribed as *y* and *v*, respectively, since they mainly represent *i̯i̯* and *u̯u̯*. More on this issue in section 11.1.3.

sometimes occurs in intervocalic position as well: cf. OP *a-dāraiya*, Av. *dāraiia-* or OP *bauuatiy*, Av. *bauuaiti*.

Consequently, the spellings *ii* and *uu* in Avestan represent *iĭ* and *uŭ*, which would in turn come from **ĭ* and **ŭ*, though they may also represent an original sequence **iĭ/*uŭ*: OAv. *āiiāt̰* < **ā-iĭāt* < PIE **°h₁i-i̯éh₁-t* (prev. *ā* + 3.sg.pres.act.opt. of *i* 'go'; cf. Skt. *iyā́t*); YAv. *sraiiah-* (comparative of *srīra-* 'beautiful, excellent'; Skt. *śréyas-* < IIr. **ćraiH-i̯as-*); YAv. *gauuāstriia-* 'pertaining to the pasture', from **gau̯-u̯āstriia-*.

4. The phonetic development of some phonemes and sequences of sounds has also produced non-etymological instances of *ii* and *uu*. One such example is the assimilation of *u̯* to *i̯* in the sequences **-uu̯ē* and **uu̯ai*; these become *-uiiē* by way of **-uu̯i̯ē*: *ahuiiē* (dat.sg. of *ahu-*, Skt. *ásu-*), which comes from **ahuii̯ē < *ahuu̯i̯ē < *ahuu̯ē < *ahu̯ē < *ahu̯ai̯*, following the view presented under §10.2.3.

Another source for *uu* is the development *-b- > -uu-*, which we find in YAv. alongside the expected *-β-*: YAv. *auui* (also written *aoui* and *aoi*) and *aiβi* 'to, towards' alongside OAv. *aibī*, Skt. *abhí*; YAv. *uiie* (< **uu̯ai̯ < *uβai̯*) alongside OAv. *ubē*; *auuauuat̰* (3.sg.impf.act.ind. of *bū* < **aβau̯at*; also *abauuat̰*), etc.; *gəuruuaiia-* (to *grab* 'seize'), Skt. *gr̥bhāyá-*, versus YAv. *gərəβnāiti* or OAv. *hə̄n-grabəm* (1.sg.aor.act.inj.); cf. further the ending of the inst.pl. in *-uuīš < -u-βiš*, or, likewise, some dat.pl. forms such as *nəruiiō* (to *nar-*), OAv. *nərəbiiō*, Skt. *nŕ̥bhyas*; YAv. *ašauuaoiiō*, OAv. *ašauuabiiō* (to *ašauuan-*). Careful examination of this phenomenon allows for the establishment of a relative chronology: the development *-β- > -u-* took place in YAv. before *i*-epenthesis took place (thus *auui* and not †*aiuui*), but after the IIr. sequence **au̯i* had become *əuui* (i.e., *əu̯i*; cf. §7.8.2). This new outcome is not distinguished from old *uu* in its subsequent development, as the already cited YAv. *uiie* (cf. above and §10.2.3), versus OAv. *ubē*, demonstrates.

5. From the combination of semivowels with various consonants (especially when the consonant precedes the semivowel), a variety of articulatory changes has taken place: **ni̯ > ń* under §5.2.4, 11.4; Ir. **cu̯ > sp* under §11.10.3; Ir. **ju̯ > zb* under §11.14.2; Ir. **či̯ > * OAv. *šii* / YAv. *š́* under §11.23.1; Ir. **hi̯- > x́ii-* under §11.28; Ir. **-hi̯- > -ńh-* under §11.29; Ir. **hu̯ > xᵛ* under §11.30; **-hu̯ > ŋᵛh* under §11.31; etc. On the metathesis of *u̯r*, cf. §8.2.

§11.2 The Liquid: *r*

1. The two realizations of the IIr. phoneme **r* < PIE **r* (together with that originating from IIr. **l* < PIE **l*) have produced the same result in Avestan: both come out as an *r*, though that deriving from syllabic **r̥* is written as *ər* (with graphic variations).

For the realization as *r, cf., for example, Av. *raθa-* 'chariot', Skt. *rathá-*; Av. *vouru°* 'wide', Skt. *urú-* (cf. Gr. εὐρύς); Av. *raocah-* 'light' (cf. Skt. *rócate* 'shine' and Lat. *lūx*); Av. ⁺*raērizaite* (3.sg.pres.act.intens.ind. of *riz* 'lick'), Skt. *rérihat* (cf. 1.sg.pres. Skt. *réhmi* and the younger *léhmi*), cf. further Modern Persian *lištan*, Gr. λείχω, and Lat. *lingō*.

For the realization as *r̥, cf., for example, YAv. *kərəta-* (ppp. of *kar* 'make, do'), Skt. *kr̥tá-*, OP ⟨k-r-t-⟩ (i.e., *k̥rta-* [kərta-]); Av. *ərəzu-* 'straight' (Skt. *r̥jú-*); Av. *pərəθu-* 'broad', Skt. *pr̥thú-*, Gr. πλατύς < PIE *pl̥th₂ú-. The ə is not usually written following a *t*: *ātrəm* (acc.sg. of *ātar-* 'fire').

2. When the clusters *rk* and *rp* were immediately preceded by the Iranian accent, the outcomes *hrk* and *hrp*, without anaptyxis, are found: YAv. *mahrka-* 'destruction' (OAv. *marəka-*, Skt. *márka-* PN); YAv. *vəhrka-* 'wolf' (< *u̯árka-; cf. Skt. *vŕ̥ka-*); YAv. *kəhrp-* 'figure, form, body' (< *kárp-). In contrast, under other accentual conditions, the developments *rək* and *rəp*, respectively, are found: OAv. *marəkaē-cā*, Skt. *marká-* 'death, destruction'. One commonly accepted theory proposes that a voiceless *r* underlies the graphic sequence *hr* of these forms.

3. Under the same conditions as in the preceding groups, the sequence *rt* does not produce the expected sequence ⁺*hrt*, but rather *š*: Av. *mašiia-* 'man', Skt. *mártiya-*; OAv. *aməša-* 'immortal', Skt. *amŕ̥ta-*; *pəšanā-* 'battle', Skt. *pŕ̥tanā-*. This *š* was probably a voiceless lateral fricative, as some (Middle) Persian borrowings from Avestan, in which *hr/hl* are written for *š*, seem to show.

4. The result of PIE *r̥H > Ir. *ar > Av. *ar* is not distinguished from the sequence *ar* < PIE vowel + *r*: OAv. *darəga-* 'long', Skt. *dīrghá-* < PIE *dl̥h₁gʰó- (cf. Gr. ἐνδελεχής); *fra-uuarətā* (3.sg.aor.mid.inj. of *var* 'choose' < *u̯l̥h₁-tó-; cf. Skt. *vr̥ṇīté*).

§11.3 Nasals: *n, m*

Nasals found in Avestan may be either etymological or may have emerged from particular sound changes (cf. below §11.13). Depending upon the environment in which they are encountered, all the nasals also undergo minor articulatory changes that are represented in writing through specific letters of the Avestan alphabet. At times, the nasal phonemes disappear, though they leave behind nasalization as a trace.

1. As a general rule, the PIE nasals *m and *n are preserved in Proto-Indo-Iranian: *nāmanąm* (gen.pl. of *nāman-* 'name', Skt. *nā́man-*, Lat. *nōmen*); *nəmah-* 'homage', Skt. *námas-*, cf. the Gr. neut. νέμος 'wooded pasture' and Lat. *nemus* 'forest'; *mraoiti* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *mrū*; Skt. *brávīti* < *mléu̯H-ti; cf. Russian *molvá* 'remark, rumor').

2. Preceding an occlusive (*t, d, k, g, c, j*, [*p*], *b*), the nasals are usually represented with the letter *ṇ*: *aṇtarə* 'within' (OP *an-ta-ra*, Skt. *antár*); *spəṇta-* 'ben-

eficient'; *jaṇtū* (3.sg.aor.act.impv. of *gam* 'go, come'); *parəṇdi-* 'fecundity' (Skt. *púrandhi-*); *baṇdaiieiti* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *baṇd* 'bind'; Skt. *bandh*); *hāṇkərəiti-* (derived from *ham+kar*); *jāṇghati-cā* (3.sg.aor.act.subj. of *gam*); *sāṇgha-* 'explanation' (Skt. *śaṁsa-*); *paṇcǎ* 'five' (Skt. *páñca*, Gr. πέντε); YAv. *rəṇj-išta-* (superl. < PIE *$h_1$lengʷʰ-*; cf. YAv. *rəuuī-* 'swift' and Skt. *r/lághīyas-*); *upaskaṇbəm* 'pillar'; *frasciṇbana-* 'beam'.

Besides numerous graphic variants (especially with the sequence *mb*), exceptions to this neutralization are seen before the enclitic °*cǎ*, which usually maintains the original nasal: *uzuxšiiąnca*, *vīspəmca*, *aṣ̌əmcā*, *darəgəmcā*.

3. In word-final position, and if the same syllable began with a labial, we find *m* for original *n*: OAv. *cašmąm* (loc.sg. of *cašman-*); OAv. *nāmąm* (acc.pl. of *nāman-*); YAv. *aṣ̌āum* < **aṣ̌āu̯ən* (voc.). On the nasalization of the vowel in the final syllable, cf. §7.6. On the voiceless nasal *m̥*, also written as *hm*, cf. §5.2.5.

§ 11.4. The palatal nasal **ń** is encountered in the oldest manuscripts, from which it could be deduced that this sign was already present in the archetype. *ń* is written before *ii* (*i̯*), and *i*; cf. §5.2.4 as well. The graphic restoration of *n* for *ń* occasionally occurs in the manuscripts.

§ 11.5. The (dorsal) nasal **ŋ** represents, on the one hand, an etymological sound that derives from **ŋ* < **ŋk* < **nk*, such as in the YAv. word *paŋtaŋᵛhum* 'a fifth' < **paŋktahu̯əm* (from PIE **penkʷto-*). On the other hand, *ŋ* has arisen from a development of Ir. **h* < **s*, which, as a function of its surroundings, also produced other outcomes, namely, *ŋ́* and *ŋᵛ*. The details concerning these phonemes are found in the paragraph dedicated to the sibilant (§11.19 ff.).

§ 11.6 The Occlusives

As a general rule, the inherited occlusives have been well preserved from Proto-Indo-European into Avestan, though some changes in place of articulation, conditioned by environment, are already to be seen in Proto-Iranian (Ir.); these changes have produced new sounds and articulatory series that did not exist in Indo-European or Indo-Iranian (cf. §§11.9, 11.12.2, and esp. 11.11 and 11.15).

§ 11.7. The phonemes that underwent the most changes in the subsequent development of the Indo-European phonological system (cf. §6) are those that belong to the dorsal series. In the course of their development into Avestan, the velar and labiovelar series fell together in a single velar series. In virtue of this characteristic, Avestan is classified as a *satəm* language (as opposed to the

languages referred to as *centum*, such as Latin or Greek, which exhibit distinct velar and labiovelar series, and in which the palatal series has been subsumed under the velar series). In order to see the development of the three dorsal series at distinct stages of the Indo-Iranian languages, a synoptic chart with the outcomes of the primary (**I**) and secondary (**II**) palatals is given here. For details, see §§ 11.9, 11.12.2, 11.20.3, 11.24.

TABLE 3   *The PIE dorsals in Indo-Iranian*

	Indo-European	Indo-Iranian	Iranian	Avestan	Sanskrit
I	*ḱ *ǵ *ǵʰ	*ć *j́ *j́ʰ	*c *j	s z	ś j h
II	*k *g *gʰ	*č *ǰ *ǰʰ	*č *ǰ	c j	c j h
	*kᵘ *gᵘ *gᵘʰ				

In Common Indo-European, a difference still would have existed between the palatovelars and plain velars or labiovelars preceding the front vowels *ĕ̆, *ĭ̆. In the stage common to Indo-Iranian, the Indo-European palatovelars (**I**) became dental affricates, while the plain velars and labiovelars (**II**), already having fallen together in a single velar series, underwent a conditioned palatalization. Subsequently, the development diverges:

   (a) in the Iranian branch, the dental affricates (**I**) lost their (pre)palatalization and remained as dental affricates [ts] and [dz], resp. In Avestan, these affricates further developed to simple sibilants (cf. the parallel development of Skt. *mátsya-* and Av. *masiia-* 'fish'). The palatalized plain velars and labiovelars (**II**) became affricates. In Iranian, the loss of aspiration left only two voiced segments: *j and *ǰ.

   (b) In the Indo-Aryan branch (Skt.), **I** and **II** ultimately give similar outcomes (though cf. ś c): the palatalization is preserved in the voiceless and voiced series, but the aspirate is depalatalized.

§ 11.8 The Voiceless Occlusives

   The Avestan series of voiceless consonants *k, c, t, p* has, as its immediate predecessor, the Iranian series *k, *č, *t, *p, resp. In preconsonantal position, the voiceless occlusives *k, t, p* become the fricatives *x, θ, f*, resp., though some regular exceptions, which will be appropriately detailed (§ 11.15 ff.), are detectable.

§ 11.9. Av. **k** continues both PIE *k and *k^u: Av. *kā-ma-* 'desire', Skt. *kā́ma-*, cf. Lat. *cārus*, from the PIE root *keh_2; the Av. neg.interr. *kaṯ*, Skt. *kád*, Lat. *quod* < PIE interr./indef. *$k^u od$.

IE *k and *k^u, when preceding a front vowel (*ĕ̆, ĭ̆*), developed to Ir. *$č$ > Av. *c*: the Av. encl. particle °*că̆*, Skt. °*ca*, Lat. °*que*, Gr. τε (Mycenaean *-qe*) < PIE *°$k^u e$; YAv. *caxra-* 'wheel', Skt. *cakrá-*, Old English *hweol*, Gr. κύκλος < PIE *$k^u ék^u lo-s$; YAv. *pacata* (3.sg.pres.mid.inj. of *pac* 'cook'), Skt. *pácata*, cf. Lat. *coquō* (< *$k^u ek^u ō$ < *$pek^u ō$), Gr. πέσσω (< *$pek^u -i̯e/o-$); cf. the synoptic chart under § 11.7.

Within a paradigm where there was variation in vocalism on account of ablaut (§ 13.2) (such that the contact of velars would alternate between the PIE vowels *$ĕ$, *$ŏ$ (> Ir. *ă̆*) and the PIE resonants *$ṇ$, *$ṃ$, *$ṛ$, *$ḷ$), a single variant of the velar is sometimes generalized throughout the entire paradigm. For example, the root *kar is found in the Avestan paradigm as *kar/car*, but Skt., however, has generalized the variant *kar* throughout; cf. further § 11.12.2.

§ 11.10. Av. **t** comes from PIE *t, and Av. **p** comes from PIE *p: Av. *ptar-*, Skt. *pitár-*, Lat. *pater* < PIE *$ph_2 tér-$.

1. *t* is lost before *s* (cf. § 11.11.2), but is usually preserved following *s/š* (cf. § 11.17.4). Note further the IIr. final sequences *$-nt$ > IIr. *$-n$ > Av. *-n*, and IIr. *$-st$ > *-s*: OAv. *dadən* (3.pl.pres.act.subj. of *dā*; Skt. *dádan*); OAv. *rārəšiiąn* (3.pl.pres. act.subj. of *rah*); YAv. *barən* (3.pl.pres.act.inj. of *bar* < *bar-a-nt > Skt. *bháran*); YAv. *viṇdən* (3.pl.pres.act.inj. of *viṇd*); OAv. *didąs* (3.sg.pres.act.inj. of *dąh* < *didāns-t); OAv. *vąs* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *van* < IIr. *$u̯ān-s-t$); Av. *ă̆s* (3.sg.impf. act.ind. of *ah* < IIr. *$ās-t$ > Skt. *ās* → *ā́sīt*).

2. *ṯ* appears instead of *t* in word-final position after a vowel or *r*, as well as in the YAv. sequence *ṯb-* = OAv. *db-* (§ 11.14.1). The Avestan alphabet must have been representing an unreleased occlusive using this *ṯ*: *pərəsaṯ* (3.sg.pres.act.inj. of *fras* 'ask'); *buuaṯ* (3.sg.aor.act.subj. of *bū*); conj. *yāṯ* (Skt. *yā́d*); *yūšmaṯ* (abl.pl. of the 2.pers.pron., Skt. *yuṣmád*); *xšaθrāṯ* (abl.sg.); OAv. *cōrəṯ* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *kar* < *kar-t). In the form *ṯkaēša-*, the *ṯk* has arisen through the missegmentation of **aniiaṯ.kaēša-* 'who has something different from the doctrine' in YAv. *aniiō.ṯkaēša-*.

In forms such as OAv. *yaogəṯ* < (3.sg.aor.act.inj. of *yuj* 'join' < *$i̯eu̯K-t$),[11] the sequence *-gəṯ* is not easy to interpret. It has been pointed out that in the cases with the final sequence *-gəṯ*, the *ṯ* could serve as a sort of diacritic to indicate word-final implosion. The other occlusive that is permitted word-finally is *ġ*,

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11   In word-internal position, cf. OAv. *hūxta-* (from *hu* + ppp. of *vac*; Skt. *sūktá-*); YAv. *baxta-* (ppp. of *baj* 'apportion').

which should also be considered as unreleased; cf. § 5.2.2.

3. p does not become a fricative, but rather remains as an occlusive preceding *t*: YAv. *hapta* 'seven'; OAv. *āiiapta-* 'help' (°*āp+ta-*); *naptiia-* (derived from *napāt-* 'grandson'), but not before the cluster *tr* (cf. § 11.10.3): *fəδrōi* (dat.sg. of *ptar-*); YAv. *nafrəδrō-* (gen.sg. of *naptar-*/[*napāt-*]; Skt. *nápāt-* and *náptar-*); OAv. *rafəδra-* 'aid' (from *rap*).

A *p* of secondary origin derives from the PIE sequence **ḱu̯ > IIr. *ću̯ > Ir. *cu̯* that develops in Avestan (and some other Iranian dialects) to *sp*: YAv. *aspa-* 'horse' (Skt. *áśva-* < PIE **h₁eḱu̯o-*).

§ 11.11 The Voiced Occlusives

The Iranian series of voiced occlusives, **g, *ǰ, *d, *b* comes from the voiced and voiced aspirate series of Indo-European, and has developed into OAv. *g, j, d, b*, resp., while in Young Avestan, these consonants remain as voiced stops only in initial position. Otherwise, in YAv., they spirantize and become the voiced fricatives *γ, ž, δ, β*, resp., except following a nasal or a sibilant. The labial *β* is further lenited to *uu*, except preceding *i* or *ii*, where it remains *β* in most words.

1. A special cluster treatment dating to the Indo-Iranian period (which may even be of Indo-European antiquity) is *Bartholomae's Law*, or simply BARTHO-LOMAE, in honor of its discoverer. In effect, Bartholomae observed that, in a sequence of a voiced aspirate and a voiceless stop or sibilant in Indo-Iranian, the voiceless stop was voiced, and the aspiration passed to the end of the cluster: PIE *DʰT*, *DʰS* > IIr. *DDʰ*, *DZʰ*, respectively. This change can be seen throughout all of Indo-Iranian, and in Avestan it is interesting to note the differences that emerge between the dialects. Old Avestan preserves the results of BARTHOLOMAE exceptionlessly, while Young Avestan has all too often analogically remade the outcomes of BARTHOLOMAE: OAv. *aogədā* versus YAv. *aoxta*, both from IIr. **au̯g-dʰa < *au̯gʰ-ta* (3.sg.pres.mid.inj. of *aoj* 'say'); cf. also OAv. *aogəžā* (2.sg. < **au̯g-žʰa < *au̯gʰ-sa*). YAv. does preserve some exceptional cases, such as *ubdaēna-* 'made of fabric', which contains the ppp. of *vaf* 'weave': in *ubda*°, Skt. *ubdhá-* < **(H)ubʰ-tá-*, cf. Gr. ὑφαίνω.

2. When two dental stops coincided, an epenthetic sibilant arose (see § 11.20.2), which was also susceptible to BARTHOLOMAE: Av. *vərəzda-* (ppp. to *vard* 'grow', Skt. *vṛddhá-* < **vṛdʰ-tá-*); Av. *dazdē* (3.sg.pres.mid.ind. of *dā* < **dʰadʰ-tai̯*, Skt. *dhatté*, versus *dastĕ* < **dad-tai̯*). These forms show the way in which the sibilant developed in the cluster **-dd- > *-dᶻd-*: it lost the first dental of the cluster and became *-zd-*.

§11.12. Iranian *g < PIE *g, *gʰ, *gᵘ, and *gᵘʰ is found in **(a)** OAv. *baga-* 'portion', YAv. *baɣa-*, Skt. *bhága-*; OAv. *ugra-* 'mighty', YAv. *uɣra-*, Skt. *ugrá-*; YAv. *aṇgušta-* 'toe', Skt. *aṅguṣthá-*; **(b)** OAv. *darəga-* 'long', YAv. *darəɣa-*, Skt. *dīrghá-*, Gr. δολιχός < PIE *d̥l̥h₁gʰó-; YAv. *mazga-* 'marrow' ≈ Skt. *majján-*, OHG *marg* < PIE *mosgʰ-; YAv. *zaṇga-* 'ankle', Skt. *jáṅghā-*; **(c)** Av. *gāuš* (nom.sg. of *gauu-* 'cow'), Skt. *gáuḥ*, Gr. βοῦς < PIE *gᵘeh₃us; **(d)** Av. *garəma-* 'heat', Skt. *gharmá-* < PIE *gᵘʰor-mó-, cf. Lat. *formus*, Gr. θερμός.

In YAv., *ɣ* (< *g*) is lost before *u* / *uu*: cf. YAv. *druuaṇt-* versus OAv. *drəguuaṇt-*; YAv. *raom* 'swift' (acc.sg. < *raɣum*), cf. Skt. *raghúm*; YAv. *Mourum*, OP *Margum* 'the country Margu'. However, *ɣ* could be reintroduced through intraparadigmatic analogy: YAv. *driɣūm* (acc.sg. of *driɣu-* 'poor') after *driɣaoš* (gen.sg.).

1. *ǵ* appears in final position in place of *g*, and is thus probably unreleased; cf. §5.2.2. Besides *ṭ*, *ǵ* is the only stop permitted in absolute auslaut. On the relation to the other unreleased consonant, *ṭ*, cf. §11.10.2 (end).

2. The same conditioning factors that caused Ir. *č > Av. *c* (§11.9) induce Av. *j* (< Ir. *ǰ* < PIE *g, *gʰ, *gᵘ, and *gᵘʰ before the front vowels *ĕ*, *ĭ*): YAv. *jiia* (§11.1.3), Skt. *j́yā́* < PIE *gᵘiHeh₂ (cf. Gr. βιός); Av. *jaiṇti* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *jan* 'beat, kill'), Skt. *hánti*, cf. Gr. θείνω < PIE *gᵘʰen; and especially OAv. *aogō* versus *aojaŋhā* from the *s*-stem *aojah-*, cf. Lat. *gen-us* (< *-os*): *gen-er-is* (< *-es-es*); cf. the synoptic Table 3 under §11.7.

j is frequently extended throughout a paradigm, rather than alternating with *g*: cf. the formations to the root *gam* < *gᵘem-, which usually appear in Avestan with *jam*, whereas Sanskrit has generalized *gam*: cf. the Av. pres. stem *ja-sa-* versus Skt. *gá-cha-*, both from *gᵘm̥-ske-* (cf. impv. Gr. βάσκε).

§11.13. Av. **d** comes from Ir. *d < PIE *d/dʰ: Av. *dasă* 'ten', Skt. *dáśa* < PIE *deḱm̥; Av. *dar* 'hold': OAv. *dāraiiaṭ*, Skt. *dhar*: *dhāráyati*. The merger of the two Indo-European phonemes *d and *dʰ in Iranian resulted in an important homonymy: Av. *dā* 'give, place' corresponds to both Skt. *dā* 'give', Gr. δίδωμι, Lat. *dō* < PIE *deh₃ and also Skt. *dhā* 'place', Gr. τίθημι, Lat. *fēcī* < PIE *dʰeh₁ (though they can be distinguished in a few instances, cf. §11.11.2).

Apart from the conditions formulated above (§11.11), some further instances in which the YAv. fricativization of *d* to *δ* is not found may be mentioned: in reduplicated formations (*dadāθa*, etc.), in compounds with preverbs (*vīdaēuua-*, etc.) on account of influence from the simplex; likewise, it does not usually occur when the *d* is in contact with an *r* (*arəduuī-*, *ərəduua-*, *xšudra-*, *varəduua-*), though lenited forms (*arəδa-*, *ərəδβa-*, *buδra-*, *vaδre*, etc.) are not rare.

In word-internal position, Ir. *-dn-* simplifies to Av. *-n-*: Av. *bŭna-* 'depth, ground', < *budna-*, Skt. *budhná-*; Av. *asna-* 'near' < *n̥sdno-* (cf. the Skt.

comparative *nédīyas-*, YAv. *nazdiiō*); *xʷaēna-* 'melted' < **sṷaidna-*, cf. Skt. *svinná-*.

In YAv., *d* in the word-initial cluster #*dm* becomes #*nm*: YAv. *nmāna-* 'house', but OAv. *dəmāna-* (Skt. *mā́na-*).

§ 11.14. PIE **b* was a marginal phoneme, so much so that the correspondences (and the words) that contain it are very scarce and controversial. The usual source for Avestan *b* was the PIE voiced aspirate **bʰ* (> Ir. **b* > Av. *b*): YAv. *barən* (3.pl.pres.act.inj. of *bar*), Skt. *bháran*, cf. OP *abaraⁿ*, Gr. φέρω, from the PIE root **bʰer* 'bear'; OAv. *aibī* 'to, towards', Skt. *abhí*; YAv. *upa.skaṇbəm* 'pillar', *fra-sciṇbana-* 'beam', cf. Skt. *skambhá-* 'support'.

The phonetic development of certain clusters is a source of new, non-etymological instances of *b*: **1.** in the word-intial cluster OAv. *db-* / YAv. *ṯb-*, orig-inating from the sequence < **dṷi-*: cf. OAv. *daibiš* 'hate' (with anaptyxis and epenthesis; cf. *daibišəṇtī* 3.pl.pres.act.ind.), YAv. *ṯbiš*, Skt. *dviṣ* (cf. *dvéṣṭi*), cf. Gr. δεινός 'fearful'. However, **dṷ* > OAv. *duu*: Av. *duuaēšah-* 'hostility', Skt. *dvéṣas-*. In YAv., one also finds *b-* as an outcome of the cluster **dṷi-*: *bitiia-* 'second' ver-sus OAv. *daibitiia-* and Skt. *dvitī́ya-*. **2.** The Ir. cluster **jṷ* (< PIE **ǵ⁽ʰ⁾ṷ*) likewise becomes *zb* in Av. (and other Ir. dialects): *zbaiieiti* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. of *zū* 'call'; Skt. *hváyati* < PIE **ǵʰeṷH*); *zbarəmna-* (mid.part. to *zbar* 'move crookedly'; cf. Skt. *hvárate* < PIE **ǵʰṷer*). **3.** In YAv., *b* fricativizes to *β* and further to *uu*, following the formula-tion in §11.1.4, and the exceptions mentioned under §11.13 also apply: redu-plicated formations (*bābuuarə*, etc.) and compounds with preverbs (*ābərətəm*, etc.). **4.** On the change of **ṷ* to *β* after a dental stop, forms such as Av. *θβōrəštar-* 'creator' versus Skt. *tváṣṭar-* may be adduced; see two further examples under §11.17.1.

§11.15 Fricatives

Avestan possesses a series of voiceless fricative consonants, *x*, *θ*, and *f*, which derive from Ir. **x*, **θ*, **f*, resp. This series did not exist in Indo-Iranian, as it developed during the Iranian period due to changes in certain sequences of consonants. On the one hand, these fricatives come from voiceless stops when they preceded another consonant, thus *TC* sequences; on the other hand, these fricatives come out of the voiceless aspirates of Indo-Iranian, whose origin lies in sequences of voiceless stop + laryngeal, thus **TH*.

§ 11.16. Av. **x** thus comes from of Ir. **x* < PIE **k*, **kʷ* before *C*: Av. *xratu-*, Skt. *krátu-*, cf. Gr. adj. κρατύς; YAv. *huxratu-*, Skt. *sukrátu-*; YAv. *baxta-* (ppp. to *baj*

'apportion', with IIr. devoicing of *g to *k before a voiceless stop; but cf. 11.10.2. and fn. 11 above), Skt. *bhaktá*-; Av. *haxman*-, Skt. *sakman*-, from PIE *sek^u 'follow'. The same root may serve to demonstrate the development of Ir. *x from the sequence *kH / *k^uH: YAv. *haxa* 'follower' (dat.sg. *haśe*), Skt. *sákhā* (dat.sg. *sákhye*) < PIE *sek^uh_2-$oi̯$; cf. Lat. *socius* as well.

Some cases of non-etymological x, which have sporadically developed before *š*-, may be noted: *xšn*- < *$*šn$-: Av. *xšnā*- 'know', OP *xšnā*, Skt. *jñā* < IIr. *$ʄn$- < PIE *$ǵn$-; *xšuuaš* 'six', Skt. *ṣáṭ*.

On *$x́$* and *x^v*, cf. the paragraphs corresponding to the particular developments of the sibilant in § 11.28 and § 11.30, resp.

§ 11.17. 1. Av. **θ** comes from Ir. *$θ$ < PIE *t before *C*: YAv. *θraiias-ca* 'three', Skt. *tráyas*, Lat. *trēs*; *caθβārō* 'four', Skt. *catvā́ras*, Doric Gr. τέτορες < PIE *$k^uét̯uor$-es; Av. *θβąm* 'you' (acc.sg.), Skt. *tvā́m*; Av. *mərəiθiiu*-, Skt. *mr̥tyú*-.

2. After *x* and *f*, Iranian *θ* has undergone voicing, becoming *δ*: OAv. *vaxəδra*- 'mouth' (Skt. *vaktrá*-); Av. *uxδa*- 'word' (Skt. *ukthá*-); YAv. *vauuaxδa* (2.sg.perf. act.ind.; Skt. *uváktha*); *fəδrōi* (from *ptar*-); OAv. *rafəδra*- (from *rap*). On *p*, cf. § 11.10.3.

3. In the same fashion, Av. *θ* comes out of Ir. *$θ$ as the outcome of the PIE sequence *tH: Av. *pərəθu*-, Skt. *pr̥thú*-, Gr. πλατύς < PIE *$pl̥th_2ú$-; Av. *raθa*- 'chariot', Skt. *rátha*- < *$róth_2$-o- (cf. Lat. *rota* < *$roteh_2$). The inflection of the word for 'path', YAv. *paṇtā̊* beside Av. *paθō*, is illustrative; cf. ch. 3, fn. 2.

4. In spite of regular fricativization, the original *t* is preserved in some cases: following *s* (though the *t* is preserved in word-final position only if *i* or *u* precede the *st*-cluster—elsewise, the *t* disappears; cf. § 11.10.1): OAv. *astuuaṇt*- 'bone', cf. Skt. *asthanvánt*-; YAv. *gauuāstriia*- < *$°u̯āstrii̯a$-; YAv. *hastra*- 'gathering, meeting' from *had* 'sit', Skt. *sattrá*-. In final position, cf. OAv. *vąs* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. < IIr. *u̯ānst* to *van*); OAv. *sąs* (to *saṇd* 'resemble'), etc., but YAv. *nāist*, *°mōist* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. to *nid* 'insult' and *miθ*), OAv. *urūaost* (3.sg.pluperf.act.inj. to *rud* 'moan, wail').

t is also preserved after *š*: *fərašaoštra*- PN (which contains the word *uštra*- 'camel', Skt. *úṣṭra*-); YAv. *pištra*- 'bruise' (cf. the Skt. root *peš* 'crush', Lat. *pīnsō*); YAv. *xštuua*- 'sixth'. In contrast to *st*-clusters, *t* also remains in word-final position after *š* regardless of the preceding segment: OAv. *tāšt*, *dōrəšt*, *cōišt* (3.sg.aor. act.inj. to *taš* 'fashion', *dar*, and *ciš*, resp.). On the development of the cluster *ts > Av. *s*, see § 11.11.2.

§ 11.18. Av. **f** comes out of Ir. *f < PIE *p before *C*: cf. the Av. preverb *fra*, Skt. *prá*, Lat. *pro*; YAv. *afnaŋᵛhaṇt*- 'landowner', cf. Skt. *ápnas*-, *ápnasvant*-, PIE *h_2ep-nes-. *p* is preserved before *t*, but not in the sequence *ptr*; cf. § 11.10.3.

One unexpected source of YAv. *f* is IIr. **bʰ* in the word *nāfa-* 'navel', cf. the gathicism in YAv. *nabā-nazdišta-* 'close relative [i.e., the closest with respect to the navel]', Skt. *nā́bhā-nédiṣṭha-*.

§11.19 Sibilants: *s, z, š, ṣ, ś, ž*

The PIE sibilant **s*, in the course of its history going into Avestan, has undergone various changes, which, in some cases, have profoundly altered its nature. To the inherited *s* (along with the allophonic variants *z* and perhaps *š*?), other sibilants that have been created later are added. A list of the Avestan sibilants with indications of their possible origins is given below.

§11.20. Av. **s** arises from various sources. Firstly, **1.** it comes from PIE **s* > Ir. **s* when it occurred before a stop (or before the nasal *n*, but not before *m*, cf. §11.26.2): Av. *skənda-* (probably Skt. *skándha-*); OAv. *āskəiti-* 'community' (from *ā+hac*; cf. Skt. *ásk-ra-*); OAv. *scaṇtū* (3.pl.aor.act.impv. to *hac*); Av. *stā* 'stand' (Skt. *sthā*, Gr. ἵστημι, Lat. *stō*); Av. *astĭ* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. to *ah*; Skt. *ásti*, Gr. ἐστί); OAv. *vastē* (3.sg.pres.mid.ind. to *vah*; Skt. *váste*); OAv. *kas-nā* (nom.sg. of *ka-* + particle *nā*; see further OAv. *kā*, Skt. *kás*); Av. *sāsnā-* 'lesson' (cf. *sāh* 'teach', Skt. *śās*); Av. *sparz* 'aspire to' (Skt. *spr̥h*).

2. Av. *s* can also derive from an excrescent *s* inserted between two dentals in the sequence **-tt-* > **-tˢt-* > *-st-* (cf. further §11.24.3): Av. *ustāna-* 'stretched (out)' (Skt. *uttāná-*); OAv. *vōistā* (2.sg.perf.act.ind. of *vid*; Skt. *véttha*; Gr. οἶσθα); and, from the same root, *vista-* (ppp.; Skt. *vittá-*). For the change of **-tst-* to *-st-*, compare the outcome in other clusters such as **matsi̯a-* 'fish' > YAv. *masii̯a-* versus Skt. *mátsya-*; cf. further Av. *hąs* (pres.part.act. of *ah* 'to be') < IIr. **Hsant-s*). An outcome *-zd-* arose in combination with a voiced aspirate plosive, cf. §11.11.2.

3. PIE **ḱ* > IIr. **ć* > Av. *s*: Av. *dasă* 'ten' (Skt. *dáśa*, Lat. *decem*, Lith. *dešim-tìs* < PIE **deḱm̥*); YAv. *satəm* 'hundred' (Skt. *śatám*, Lat. *centum*, Lith. *šim̃tas* < PIE **dḱm̥tóm*); Av. *aspa-* (Skt. *áśva-*; cf. §11.10.3); YAv. *asman-* 'stone, sky' (Skt. *áśman-*, Gr. ἄκμων); YAv. *srai̯ah-*, OAv. *sraēšta-* (comparative and superl., resp., to *srīra-*); Av. *sru* 'hear' (Skt. *śrav*, Gr. κλύω, Lat. *cluēre*); Av. *sāstar-* 'master' (Skt. *śāstar-*); Av. *sāh* 'teach' (Skt. *śās*).

4. The PIE sequence **sḱ* developed to **sć* in IIr. (and in RUKI environments [§11.20.5] in Ir. to **šc*), in Ir. to **sc*, and finally, in Av., to *s*: YAv. *jasaiti* (3.sg.pres. act.ind. to *gam*; Skt. *gáchati*); Av. *pərəsaitĕ* (3.sg.pres.mid.ind. of *fras*; Skt. *pr̥cháte* < PIE **pr̥ḱ-sḱe/o-*; Lat. *poscō*, *precor*).

5. A group of segments that affected PIE **s*, inducing phonetic changes probably already in the Indo-European period, makes up the so-called "RUKI environment". This term refers to the group of phonemes *ĭ ŭ r k* (as well as

their respective variants *i̯ u̯ r̥, K*) before **s*, and the consequent articulatory change of **s* to **š*. The effects of RUKI may be observed in all of the *satəm* languages (§ 11.7), such as the Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic subgroups of Indo-European.

Examples include: the ending of the inst.pl. *-bīš*; Av. *ašiš* 'prize'; YAv. *pištra-* (Skt. *peṣ*, Lat. *pistus*); YAv. *vīša-* 'poison' (Skt. *viṣá-*); YAv. *zušta-* 'enjoyed' (Skt. *juṣṭá-*; cf. Lat. *gustō*); YAv. *aršti-* 'spear' (Skt. *r̥ṣṭí-*); Av. *ratuš* 'span, time'; Av. *tanuš* 'body'; OAv. *dōrəšt* (3.sg.aor.act.ind. to *dar*); *pāšnā-* 'heel' (cf. Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-*, Gr. πτέρνη, Lat. *perna*); OAv. *nərəš*, YAv. *narš* (gen.sg. of *nar-* 'man'); Av. *vaxšt* (3.sg.aor.act.inj. to *vaxš* 'grow'; cf. Skt. impf. *aukṣat*; Gr. ἀέξω < **h₂u̯eg*[-s]); *vaxšii̯ā* (1.sg.pres.act.ind. to *vac* 'speak'; Skt. *vac* < PIE **u̯ekʷ*); Av. *vašī* (2.sg.pres. act.ind. to *vas* 'desire'; Skt. *vakṣi* to *vaś* < **u̯ék-si*); YAv. *mīžda-* 'reward' (Skt. *mīḍhá-*, Gr. μισθός < PIE **mizdʰó-*); OAv. *aogəžā* (2.sg.pres.mid.ind. < **au̯gʰ-sa*; cf. § 11.11.1). From these examples, it may be inferred that RUKI affected Indo-Iranian **z* in addition to **s*.

§ 11.21. Av. *š* comes out of 1. IIr. **ć* > Ir. **c* preceding *t*, *dʰ*, and *bʰ*: YAv. *ašta* 'eight' (Skt. *aṣṭā́*, PIE **h₃ekteh₃*); YAv. *našta-* (ppp. to *nas* 'disappear'; Skt. *naś*); YAv. *vaštī* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. to *vas*; Skt. *vā́ṣṭi*; compare the 1.sg. *vasəmī*; Skt. *vā́śmi*); *dərəšta-* (ppp. to *dars*; Skt. *dr̥ṣṭá-* to *darś*). 2. *š* also comes out of IIr. **ć* or **ǰ* > Ir. **c*, **j* before *n* word-internally: YAv. *frašna-* 'question' (from *fras*; Skt. *praśná-*; cf. OAv. *frasā-* 'id.'); YAv. *frāšnaoiti* (from *fra+nas* 'carry'; Skt. *aśnóti*); YAv. *frašnu-* (*fra+žānu-* 'with the knees forward'; compare, for example, *žnubii̯as-ci̯*; cf. § 11.25.4). Some notable exceptions to this development do exist, though they may be explained by analogy to other forms without the *š*: OAv. *vasnā* 'according to my will' (inst.sg. of *vasna-?*) instead of †*vašna* (cf. OP *vašnā*) by analogy to the (verbal) stem *vas-* and *vasah-*; Av. *yasna-* (Skt. *yajñá-*) by analogy to the stem *yaz*. 3. From **s* affected by RUKI, cf. § 11.20.5 with examples.

4. The IIr. sequence **ćs* > **ćš* becomes Av. *š*: *mošu-cā* 'soon' (Skt. *makṣū́*, Lat. *mox*); Av. *vašī* (2.sg.pres.act.ind. to *vas* << PIE **u̯ék-si*; cf. 3.sg. *vaštī*). 5. In contact with a preceding labial, *š* (and *ž* cf. § 11.25.2) are also found: *nafšu-cā* (loc.pl. of *napāt-* 'grandson'); *drafša-* 'banner' (Skt. *drapsá-* 'drop') *fšu°* 'livestock' < **pśu-* < **pku-* (cf. *pasu-*, Skt. *paśu-*, Lat. *pecus*). 6. *š* also arises from the sequence **tk*: *tašan-* 'shaper, carpenter' (Skt. *tákṣan-* < **tetkon-*), *šaētī* (3.sg.pres.act.ind. to *ši* 'dwell'; Skt. *kṣéti*, Gr. κτίζω) and, from the same root, Av. *šōiθra-* 'region, dwelling' (Skt. *kṣétra-*).

§ 11.22. *ṣ̌* is originally an Avestan development of the sequence *rt* under certain accentual conditions; however, later in the transmission and manuscript tradi-

tion, *š* has frequently become confused with *ṣ̌*, and at times with *ś* as well. The origin of and examples for *ṣ̌* are laid out in §11.2.3.

§11.23. *ś* is a palatal phoneme. **1.** In the manuscript tradition, the interchange of *š* and *ṣ̌* with *ś* is often encountered, despite the fact that all of these phonemes were distinct in the archetype. *ś* comes out of Ir. **či̯*, which became OAv. *ši̯* > YAv. *ś/š*: OAv. *šiiaoθana-*, YAv. (gathicism) *śiiaoθna-* (< **či̯au̯tna-* ≈ Skt. *cyautná-*; cf. PIE **ki̯eu̯*, Skt. *cyav*, Gr. κῑνέω). In YAv., *ś* does not occur followed by *ii* (*i̯*), which is to say that the merger of *š* and *ii* in a single phoneme *ś* had already been completed. However, in YAv., the manuscripts usually do not write the expected *ś*, but use the two other sibilant letters: OAv. *śiiātō* (ppp. to *śiiā*, cf. Lat. *quiētus*) versus YAv. *šātō* (vv.ll. *šiiātō*, *šātō*, *ṣ̌ātō*) 'at ease'.

    2. See §11.16 for the vacillation between initial *xš-* and *š-* in some words.

§11.24. The origin of Av. **z** is also heterogenous. **1.** Firstly, it is the outcome of the PIE palatovelars *ǵ, *ǵʰ, by way of an IIr. stage *ǰ, *ǰʰ > Ir. *ǰ [dz]: Av. *zaoša-* 'pleased' (Skt. *jóṣa-*; cf. Gr. γεύομαι, Lat. *gustō*; PIE **ǵeu̯s*); YAv. *zraiiah-* 'sea' (Skt. *jráyas-*); Av. *zāta-* (ppp. to *zan* 'generate', Skt. *jātá-* to *janⁱ*); YAv. *zazāmi* (to *zā* 'leave', Skt. *jáhāmi* to *hā*); Av. *zaotar-* 'priest' (Skt. *hotár-*; cf. Gr. χέω, PIE **ǵʰeu̯* 'pour'); YAv. *ziiā̊* 'winter' (nom.sg.; cf. Skt. *himá-*, Gr. χιών, Lat. *hiems*).

    2. *z* is also found as the product of the voicing of *s preceding a voiced stop: Av. *nazdišta-* (superl. of *asna-* 'near', Skt. *nédiṣṭha-* < **nasd°*); Av. *mazdā-* 'wisdom' (Skt. *medhā́-* < IIr. **mas-dʰaH-* < PIE **mn̥s-dʰeh₁-*); OAv. *zdī* (2.sg.pres.act. impv. to *ah*; Skt. *edhi* < *azdhí; cf. Gr. ἴσθι); YAv. *mazga-* (cf. Skt. *majján-*; §11.12.b); OAv. *θrāzdūm* (2.pl.aor.mid.inj. to *θrā* 'protect').

    3. In addition, *z* arises secondarily from sequences of voiced dental stops **-dd-* > **-dᶻd-*, which result in Av. *-zd-* (cf. further §11.20.2): OAv. *fra-uu̯ōiz-dūm* (2.pl.aor.mid.inj. of *vid*); OAv. *sazdiiāi* (mid.inf. to *saṇd* or *sᵅh*), *dazdi-iāi* (mid.inf. to *dā*); or in certain Bartholomae sequences (cf. §11.11.2): Av. *vərəzda-* (Skt. *vr̥ddhá-* < **vr̥dʰ-tá-*); OAv. *azdā* 'certainly' (OP *azdā*, Skt. *addhā́*).

§11.25. Av. **ž** also has several possible origins: **1.** from the allophone of PIE *z > IIr. *z affected by RUKI (§11.20.5, with examples), including compounds with the pejorative prefix *duš°* (Skt. *duṣ°*, Gr. δυσ°) plus a second element with a voiced first consonant: *dužuuacah-* 'with a bad word' (Skt. *durvacas-*); *duždāh-* 'niggardly'.[12] **2.** In contact with Iranian labials, *ž* is also found (and *š*; cf.

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12   Curiously, *duš°* before *m* was preserved as such, thus the tradition gives *duš-manah-*. The

§11.21.5): *diβža-* 'deception'; *diβžaidiiāi* (pres.desiderative.inf. to *dab* 'deceive' < **di-dbh-sa*; cf. Skt. *dípsati* to *dabh*); *vaβžaka-* 'wasp' (< **u̯abzʰa-* < PIE **u̯obʰso-*).

3. *ž* can also come out of IIr. **ǰ, *ǰʰ* > Ir. **ǰ* preceding *t, dʰ, bʰ*: OAv. *važdra-* 'driver' (Skt. *vóǰhar-*; cf. Lat. *uehō*; PIE **u̯eǵʰ*); OAv. *gərəždā* (< **gr̥ǵʰ-ta*, 3.sg.pres. mid.inj. to *garz* 'lament'; cf. Skt. *garh*). IIr. **ǰ, *ǰʰ* also give Av. *ž* **4.** before word-initial *n*: *žnātar-* 'knower' (Skt. *jñātár-*; cf. Gr. γνωστήρ; PIE **ǵneh₃*); *žnubiias-ciṱ* (abl.pl. of *zānu-* 'knee', Gr. γόνυ); the outcome in word-internal position, however, is *šn*: YAv. *baršna* (inst.sg. of *barəzan-* 'height'); cf. further §11.21.2.

5. The IIr. sequences **ǰ+s* and **ǰʰ+s* become Ir. **ǰž* > Av. *ž*:[13] YAv. *uz-uuažaṱ* (3.sg.aor.act.subj. to *vaz*; Skt. *vakṣat* < PIE **u̯eǵʰ-se-*); OAv. *dīdərəžō* (2.sg.pres. desiderative.act.inj. to *darz* 'strengthen' < **didr̥ǰʰ-sa-*; Skt. *darh*).

6. The Av. sequence *-ji̯-* becomes *ž* in YAv.: *družaiti* (to *druj*; Skt. *drúhyati*), but OAv. *a-drujiiaṇt-*; *bažat* (3.sg.pres.pass. in *-iia* to *baj* 'apportion', Skt. *bhaj*) may also be included here, as well as the YAv. stem *daža-* 'burn' (i.e., a stem in *-iia*, like in the YAv. type *jaiδiia-* 'pray'; cf. Skt. *dáhati*).

A YAv. phenomenon that is usually interpreted as a dialectal feature may be detected in the change of intervocalic *j* to *ž*: *snaēžāṱ* and the part. *snaēžiṇt-* (to *snaēžā* 'snow'). Contrary to what was formerly believed, this development usually presents itself in nominal forms (cf. *aži-*, Skt. *áhi-*; etc.), but is much less common in verbal forms (only three): *snaēžā-* (versus Skt. *snihyati*), *naēniža-* ('wash', Skt. *nenikté*), °*δβōža-* 'wave'; only these three may indeed be explained as exhibiting this dialectal feature.

§11.26 The Fricative *h* and its Derived Phonemes: *x́, xᵛ, ŋh, ŋ́h, ŋᵛh*

1. A first change, which must have taken place in the Iranian period at the latest, is the development IIr. **s* > Ir. **h* in initial position and in word-internal position before sonorants and *i̯, u̯, m, r*.

Av. *h* comes from Ir. **h* < PIE **s* in both word-initial and word-internal position: YAv. *hapta* 'seven' (Skt. *saptá*, Gr. ἑπτά); *hac* (Skt. *sac*, Gr. ἕπομαι, Lat. *sequor*); *hauruua-* (Skt. *sárva-*, Lat. *saluus*, Gr. (Ionic) οὖλος); Av. *ahu-* (Skt. *ásu-*); *ahura* (Skt. *ásura-*); Av. *ahĭ* (2.sg.pres.act.ind. to *ah*; Skt. *ási*, Gr. εἶ); OAv. *kahiiā* (gen.sg. of the interr. *ka-*; Skt. *kásya*); OAv. *manahi-cā* (loc.sg. of *manah-*; Skt.

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single example of OAv. ⁺*dužmanah-* 'ill-minded' (Y 49.11; Gr. δυσμενής) could originate in the (Persian) vulgate pronunciation.

13   The same development would take place in a potential PIE sequence **d⁽ʰ⁾ǵʰ*. The YAv. example *γžar* 'flow', cf. Skt. *kṣar* (*kṣárati*) and Prākrit *jharaï* 'to drip', must derive from PIE **dʰgᵘ̯ʰer-*.

mánasi). As the examples make evident, *h* is preserved only before *i* and *u*, while between other vowels it was nasalized and became *ŋh*; §11.27.

2. The change to *h* may also be observed before *m*: Av. *ahmī̆* (1.sg.pres.act.ind. to *ah*; Skt. *ásmi*, Gr. εἰμί); OAv. *ə̄hmā*, YAv. *ahma* (acc.pl. 1.pers.pron.; Skt. *asmán*, Aeol. Gr. ἄμμε); Av. *dahma-* 'wonderful' (Skt. *dasmá-*); *grōhma-* PN. The graphic sequence *hm* in fact represents a voiceless *m*, which is also written as *m̥* in the manuscripts; cf. §5.2.5. In initial position, *h* is lost before *m*: cf. *mahī̆* (Skt. *smási*), or the preposition *mat̰* 'with' (Skt. *smád*).

3. Depending upon phonetic environment, the new *h* was preserved as such (see above), or became the new phonemes *ŋh* (§11.27), *x́* (§11.28), *ń h* (§11.29), *x^v* (§11.30), *ŋ^v h* (§11.31), or simply *ŋ*.

The change of *h* to *ŋ* is exceptional and occurs solely before *r* word-medially. In effect, the PIE sequence *-*sr/l*- becomes Avestan -*ŋr*-: *aŋra-* 'evil' (Skt. *asrá-*); *daŋra-* 'experienced' (Skt. *dasrá-*). Note that *ŋr* also takes on other spellings in the manuscript tradition: *ŋhr*, *ŋgr* (a hypergathicism; cf. §11.3.2). Word-initial *sr- simplifies in OAv. to *r*-: *rəma-* 'brutality' (cf. Skt. *srāma-* 'paralytic'), but in YAv. it seems to have become *θr*-: YAv. *θraotō°* (Skt. *srótas-*, but OP *rautah-*).

§11.27. **ŋh** arises from the sequence *ă̆hă̆* > Av. *aŋha*: *aŋhat̰* (3.sg.pres.act.subj. to *ah*; Skt. *ásat*); OAv. *manaŋhā* (inst.sg. of *manah-*); OAv. *nəmaŋhā* (inst.sg. of *nəmah-*); OAv. *å̄ŋharə* (3.pl.perf.ind. to *ah* ≈ Skt. *āsúr*). Due to intraparadigmatic pressure, it is not uncommon to find *ŋh* extended to positions where it would normally be impermissible: for example, from Ir. **vahu-*, the following paradigm results: nom.neut. *vohū*, gen.sg. *vaŋhə̄uš* (< **u̯ahau̯š*), and a dat.sg. *vaŋhauu̯ē*, but also nom.sg.masc. *vaŋhuš* and acc.pl. *vaŋhūš-cā*. In YAv., *ŋh* can also come from IIr. *ns before *ă̆*, and is equivalent to OAv. *ŋgh* in this environment; cf. §7.9.3.

§11.28. **x́** is a secondary product of the new Iranian *h*. *x́* is found in the word-initial sequence #*x́ii-* as the Av. reflex of Ir. **hi̯-*: OAv. *x́iiə̄m*, *x́iiå̄*, *x́iiāt̰* … (opt. of *ah*; Skt. *syā́t*), YAv. *x́iiaona-* 'Name of a people'. In word-internal position, Ir. **hi̯* is preserved in OAv., but yielded *ń h* in YAv. before *a*-vowels. Before *ŭ*, we find *x́ii* in both varieties of Avestan. Examples: OAv. *vahiiah-* (comparative of *vohu-*; Skt. *vásyas-*); *ahiiā* (2.sg.pres.act.impv. to ²*ah* 'throw'; Skt. *ásya*); the ending of the thematic gen.sg. as in *madahiiā* (of *mada-* 'intoxicating drink'); acc.sg. *dax́iiūm* 'country'. YAv. *hii-* as, e.g., in *māhiia-* PN (Skt. *māsya-*; cf. Av. *māh-* 'moon, month'), is found before a disyllabic suffix *-i.i̯a-* < IIr. **-i.Ha-* 'belonging to'.

Word-internally, OAv. has a variant -*x́ii-* before an *a*-vowel, found mainly if the following syllable is non-final or is a word-final closed syllable. The conditions are not completely clear, however. Examples include OAv. *nəmax́iiāmahī*

(1.pl.pres.act.ind. to *nəmax́iia-* 'do homage', denom. to neut. *namah-* 'homage'; cf. Skt. *námas-*), *xᵛax́iiāi* (dat.sg.f. of the refl.pron. *xᵛa-* 'own'; Skt. *svá-*).

§ 11.29. **ń̨h** properly belongs to YAv., and represents the development of *-h̨i-* > *ŋh̨i* (i.e., once *h* had become *ŋh*): YAv. *vańhō* versus OAv. *vahiiō* (nom.neut. of the comparative of *vohu-*; Skt. *vásyas-*); *dańhᵊuš* versus OAv. *dax́iiᵊuš* (gen.sg.);[14] *ańhāi* versus OAv. *ax́iiāi* (cf. above). To find *ŋh* instead of *ń̨h* in the manuscripts is commonplace.

§ 11.30. **xᵛ** is a secondary product of Ir. *h*, and represents the Ir. sequence **h̨u* in a single grapheme (contrast *x́ii* < **h̨i*; cf. above): Av. *xᵛafəna-* / *xᵛafna-* 'sleep' (Skt. *svápna-*); *xᵛa-* (reflexive pron.; Skt. *svá-*).

Word-internally, the treatment of **hu̯* varied, given that OAv. preserved it as *huu*, while in YAv. it becomes *ŋᵛh* (cf. below). *-xᵛ-* appears sporadically: OAv. *nəmaxᵛaitīš* (nom.pl.fem. 'devotees'). This reflex alternates with the usual OAv. *-huu-* in the same way that *-x́ii-* alternates with *-hii-* (see § 11.28). Word-initially, the regular reflex of **hu̯-* was *xᵛ-* in OAv. and YAv. Initial *huu-* is found where *hu-* 'good' or *huu-* 'sun' were restored. Compare OAv. *xᵛə̄ŋg* (i.e., /huu̯ə́ŋh/, gen.sg. of *xᵛan-*; but nom.acc. *huuarə̄* /húu̯ar/; Skt. *svàr*), and OAv. *xᵛāθra-* 'well-being' (*hu-āθra-*); *xᵛīti-* 'of good access' (*hu-īti-*); YAv. *xᵛīta-* (*hu-īta-*; Skt. *suvitá-*); *xᵛāstra-* 'of good pastures' (*hu-u̯āstra-*; cf. the hydronym *xᵛāstrā-*).

§ 11.31. **ŋᵛh** properly belongs to YAv. and reflects *-hu̯-*. In Indian manuscripts, it also appears as *ŋuh* or *ŋh*: *yāsaŋuha*, *yāsaŋᵛha* (as well as *yāsaŋha*); *vaŋuhīš*, *vaŋᵛīš* (as well as *vaŋhīš*); *pərəsaŋuha*, *pərəsaŋᵛa* (as well as *pərəsaŋha*). YAv. *-hu-* reflects the later addition of a vowel to a word ending in loc.pl. *-hu*: *yāhuua*, *dāmahuua* (loc.pl. of the rel.pron *ya-* and of *dāman-* 'creature', resp., + the postposition *ā*; cf. § 16.8). The sequence *-hu̯-* (*-huu̯-*) appears as *-huu-* in OAv.: OAv. *gūšahuuā*, *dāhuuā* (2.sg.aor.mid.impv. to *guš* 'listen' and *dā*, resp.; Skt. *-sva*).

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14   In YAv., a case of preventive dissimilation in the acc.sg. and the gen.pl. of the stem *dańhu-* is discernable: *dax́iiūm* (also *dańhaom*) and *dax́iiunąm*. The presence of *m* has impeded the development of the secondary nasal *ŋ*. A similar case presents itself in the gen. *aŋhə̄uš*, nom. *aŋhuš* (← **ahuš*), but acc. *ahūm* or in *vaŋhuš* (analogical, cf. neut. *vohŭ*): *vaŋhə̄uš*, but *vohūm*, *vohunąm* (Skt. *vasūnām*).

Morphology

§12 Introduction

In this large chapter, we will present the facts concerning nominal inflection, including sections dedicated to adjectives and their degrees of comparison, pronouns, and indeclinable words (prepositions and preverbs). Furthermore, verbal inflection and the formation of verbal stems will be discussed.

§13 Nominal Inflection

The nominal inflection of Avestan is inherited from the inflectional processes of Indo-European, by way of Indo-Iranian. On the one hand, Avestan exhibits an archaic system, as it retains many fossilized features that were at one time productive, but which have already fallen into disuse by the Avestan period. On the other hand, Avestan nevertheless shows some clear innovations with respect to earlier linguistic stages, though these innovations are based upon inherited processes.

As has already been explained above, one of the aims of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics is to linguistically delimit the Iranian languages and to establish, using reconstruction, a common linguistic stage shared between these languages and the Indic languages: Proto-Indo-Iranian (IIr.). Avestan morphology immediately reveals a close relationship to Vedic, the oldest attested stage of Indic. Vedic thus furnishes indispensable aid in the assessment and classification of Avestan forms, which are often very difficult to interpret, given the phonetic nature of the alphabet and the convoluted transmission of the texts. Moreover, the distinction between OAv. and YAv. further complicates linguistic and philological work.

§13.1 *Components of the Word*

The linguistic analysis of a word focuses, first of all, on the elements that it contains, and the objective of the analysis is the classification and definition of those elements. The first general division of formal elements allows one to distinguish a root, affix, and ending in each nominal form. An affix may precede or follow the root, on which basis it is called a 'prefix' or 'suffix',

respectively.[1] At times, the root and suffix have a very tight bond, and the whole consisting of root and suffix is then termed 'stem'. Where the stem is coextensive with the root, one speaks of a 'root noun'. Finally, the word, as is the usual practice for old Indo-European languages, receives endings that situate that precise form within a case/number system (i.e., they place it within a paradigm); likewise, the endings serve to establish syntactic and functional relations with respect to other words within the sentence. On many occasions, it is not possible to divide stem and ending clearly, in which case it is necessary to speak of a 'non-segmentable ending', rather than a simple 'ending'.

The usual manner of writing a root is to show it in the FG form with PIE *e, which, in Avestan, is equivalent to the full grade a. That is to say, for example, the root *men (Av. man) means 'think', or the root *$u̯ek^u̯$ (Av. vac) means 'speak'. Meanwhile, stems are given with a following dash. Thus, for example, we have the stem *$u̯ek^u̯$- (root noun) 'word' (Av. vac- 'voice', Skt. $vā́k$-), or the present stem *$mn̥i̯e/o$- 'think' (Av. $mańiia$-, Skt. $mánya$-) to the root *men; etc.

§13.2   *Accent and Ablaut*

Attentive observation of the means of inflection in particular words reveals two further morphologically relevant elements: the accent, and patterns of vowel alternation (ABLAUT), which may have originally been bound up with one another.

Little can be said about the place of the accent in Avestan, though some phenomena due to the effects of the accent have been noted in the preceding chapter. All things considered, those phenomena do not have significant implications. However, one characteristic feature of Indo-European (nominal and verbal) morphology that has left a profound trace on the daughter languages is the system of ablaut. Ablaut consists in the regulated change of particular vowels (including ∅) within morphological elements, i.e., in roots, affixes, and endings. Each one of these elements can take on various forms depending upon the value of the ablauting vowel. The system of ablaut, as may be seen in the Table 4 below, sets up an opposition, on the one hand, between the zero grade, full grade, and lengthened grade, and on the other hand, in the corresponding gradations, between e grade and o grade.

The relation between FG, LG, and ZG is termed 'quantitative ablaut', while the relation betwen e grade and o grade is termed 'qualitative ablaut'.

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1   Cases in which an affix is contained within the root itself are referred to as infixes. Indo-European languages normally employ infixes only in the domain of verbal inflection.

TABLE 4   *Ablaut in Indo-European*

	e Grade	*o* Grade
Full Grade (FG)	*e*	*o*
Lengthened Grade (LG)	*ē*	*ō*
Zero Grade (ZG)	∅	

The function of the ablaut system within a single paradigm is regulated in part by the accent, and in part by morphological category. As was already mentioned, a strict relation between accent and ablaut might have held in the proto-language. A syllable bearing the accent would then have *e* grade, while an unaccented syllable would have *o* grade or ZG. Later, during a second phase, the tightly bound relation between accent and ablaut could have been broken by accent displacement or by changes in allomorphy, such that forms with multiple *e* FGs or with ZG throughout arose.

Out of this system, Indo-Iranian, and ultimately Avestan, has maintained only quantitative oppositions, as a consequence of the developments in the Indo-European vowel system. However, remnants of the old qualitative oppositions may still be observed in the effects that certain ablaut grades produced on the preceding consonant (i.e., palatalization, cf. § 11.7, and further § 11.9., 11.12.2), or in the outcomes stemming from BRUGMANN (§ 7.4.4). Nonetheless, it must not be forgotten that, in general, these elements are mere traces of a very archaic older stage, and therefore must be treated with caution.

§ 13.3   *Paradigmatic Nominal Categories*

In the noun, Avestan distinguishes three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter; three numbers: singular, dual, and plural; and eight cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, ablative, dative, instrumental, locative, and finally, vocative.

In Avestan, these categories are expressed within a paradigm by means of endings, which simultaneously carry information about case and number, and sometimes gender. In contradistinction to adjectives and pronouns, the noun lacks gender as a category in itself, but gender instead derives from the specific stem (lexeme). In this regard, the distinction of gender does not arise directly from the endings, save partially in the singular and in the plural of neuter nouns, but rather is evident in virtue of concord between nouns and adjectives or pronouns.

In Table 5, the fact that the endings in Avestan express more than one category, a characteristic feature of the Indo-European languages, is self-evident. The table aims to encompass all inflectional types, and is based on the for-

TABLE 5   *The nominal endings in their Proto-Avestan form*

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	m./f.	neut.	m./f.	neut.	m./f.	neut.
nom.	*-S, *-h, *-∅				*-ah	
voc.	*-∅	*-∅	*-aH	*-iH		*-H, *-∅
acc.	*-(a)m				*-ah, *-nS, *-nh	
gen.	*-S, *-h, *-ah		*-āh		*-ām	
abl.	*-(a)t				*-bi̯ah	
dat.	*-ai̯		*-biā(m)			
inst.	*-(a)H				*-bĭš̆	
loc.	*-i		*-au̯		*-Su, *-hu	

mal evaluation of each distinct place in the paradigm. Keep in mind that the endings given there are normally sufficient to distinguish a paradigmatic slot, though possible variations in the stem or (infrequent) cases of heteroclisis must be taken into account.

§13.4 *Endings*

In the process of inflection, the stem is unified with the various endings, each of which occupies a specific place in the paradigm. The number of endings is limited and fairly small. In Avestan, the task of enumerating the endings is rendered more difficult by the tradition, which has transmitted the text with a markedly phonetic character, and as a consequence it is commonplace to find that the endings have several allomorphs.

Given the impossibility of presenting a table that encompasses all of the allomorphs of every ending for the two dialects without losing the synoptic effect, we have instead opted to present a general table with the Proto-Avestan endings, i.e., those endings that must necessarily underlie each one of the historically attested endings. Only the standard endings are included in Table 5, and account is not taken of sandhi phenomena, which will be explained separately. Likewise, the possible alternations in the stem itself, which will be detailed below under each particular class, are not considered here. In some cases, the use of archiphonemes is necessary: *S* or *M*, as well as the single laryngeal *H*, which probably still existed in Proto-Avestan. Finally, for practical purposes, realize that differences between Old and Young Avestan also appear in inflection, as, above all, in the quantity of word-final vowels, already mentioned above (cf. §7.2): Old Avestan always has *-ā, -ī, -ū, -ē*, whereas Young Avestan always has short vowels: *-a, -i, -u, -e*.

§ 14   Case Endings of the Singular

§ 14.1. The nominative masc./fem., sometimes called "animate", has two inflectional types. **1.** The sigmatic type is more common and is characterized by the addition of an *-s* to the stem, with allomorphs that occur in virtue of the phonetic environment (i.e., RUKI, etc.). Root nouns, stems in *-t, -ṇt, -i, -u, -a*, as well as a few stems in *-n*, and isolated cases of *r*-stems, are all found in this inflectional type. **2.** The asigmatic type is less common than the preceding type, and is characterized by a zero ending: *-∅*. This type includes some *r*-stems and *n*-stems, as well as stems in *-ā* and *-ī*. Lengthened grade of the suffix occurs in some of these classes.

§ 14.2. The acc. masc./fem. has the ending *-m* (or *-əm*).

§ 14.3. The nominative/accusative neuter has, in contrast to nouns of animate gender, the same form, with a zero ending. In *a*-stems (thematic stems), the ending is *-m*.

§ 14.4. The vocative of the singular is a case form with a zero ending. The voc. of ablauting stems shows full grade of the suffix.

§ 14.5. The genitive and ablative have identical forms in IIr. (and PIE) in all inflectional types, with the exception of the thematic inflection, which has two distinct forms.

   1. OAv. preserves the older state, and exhibits an ending **-as* (< PIE **-es*), which can undergo ablaut and thus be merely **-s* (cf. esp. *n*-stems, § 18.4). YAv. has slightly modified this situation, and, taking the thematic inflection as its model, formally differentiates the genitive and the ablative in all classes. The YAv. gen. follows the old gen. in **-(a)s*, while the YAv. abl. takes the ending *-ṭ*, adopted from the thematic inflection (§ 19.1.6). To this new ending, the postposition *ā* can be added, thus resulting in the YAv. ending *-ăδa*. On the development and graphic representation of the ending **-as*, cf. § 7.9.4.

   2. The thematic inflection has, in the gen., an ending OAv. *-hiiā*, YAv. *-he*, deriving from **-si̯a* (§ 7.10.3), while an ending *-aṭ* is employed in the ablative.

§ 14.6. The dative has, in OAv., an ending *-ōi*, which corresponds to YAv. *-e*, both deriving from Ir. **-ai̯* < PIE **-ei̯*. In some cases, the YAv. ending has been introduced into OAv. (and gathicized) as *-ē*; cf. § 7.11.1.

§14.7. The instrumental has an ending -*ă̄*, but in some inflectional classes seems no longer to have any ending. This apparent lack of ending is due to the fact that the old PIE ending *-h_1 became *-*H* in Ir., and in word-final position was lost without leaving any trace after a consonant or lengthening the preceding vowel (but be aware of the situation regarding word-final vowels in Av. §§7.2 and 13.4).

§14.8. The locative is another case that has a zero ending (together with lengthened grade of the suffix). Other types of formations show an ending -*ĭ*.

§15   Case Endings of the Dual

§15.1. The nominative/accusative/vocative masc./fem. makes for a motley collection, which must be examined under each inflectional type. The PIE ending that underlies the forms is usually reconstructed as *-h_1. The Av. feminine forms are set up as *-*ih$_1$*.

§15.2. The nominative/accusative/vocative neut. has an ending -*ĭ*, which is reconstructed as PIE *-*ih$_1$*.

§15.3. The dative/ablative/instrumental has -*biiă̄* < Ir. *-*bi̯ā* as its ending. On just a single stem, the ending -*biiąm*, identical to the Skt. -*bhyām*, is found: YAv. *bruuaṯ.biiąm* 'eyebrows'.

§15.4. The genitive and locative have distinct endings in Iranian, in contrast to the common endings that they share in Sanskrit. In effect, compared to the usual ending in Skt., -*oḥ*, Avestan exhibits, on the one hand, **1.** a genitive ending -*å̄* (< IIr. *-*ās*), and on the other hand, **2.** a locative ending -*(uu)ō* (< IIr. *-*au̯*). It is possible that the Sanskrit ending may have arisen as a blending of the two IIr. case forms as continued in Avestan.

§16   Case Endings of the Plural

§16.1. The nominative masc./fem. has -*ō*, whose reconstruction goes back to PIE *-*es*, as its ending. Two other endings also exist. **1.** An ending that is the product of morphological recharacterization: -*å̄ŋhō*, which must have its origin in the Indo-Iranian period: cf. Skt. -*āsas*, OP -*āha*. **2.** The thematic inflection has an ending -*ă̄* (in YAv., -*a* in polysyllables, but -*ā*- in the auslaut of disyllables before

the enclitic -*ca*), which must have been long in IIr., as is evident from -*ā́* in Skt.: *yugā́* 'yokes'. This form could derive from the old ending of the collective, PIE *-*h₂*. The existence of an ending that results from the PIE contraction *-*o+-es*, as is found in -*ās* in Sanskrit, is not assured. One should note the fem.pl. of the *ā*-stems: -*ā̊* < IIr. *-*ās* < PIE *-*eh₂-es*.

§16.2. The accusative masc./fem. has an ending -*ō*, deriving from Ir. *-*as* < PIE *-*n̥s*. The thematic inflection takes the same ending, but according to the rules of syllabification, the ending is realized after a vowel as PIE *-*ns*. The Ir. ending *-*a-ns* becomes -*ə̄ṇg* in OAv. and -*ą* or -*ə̄* in YAv.; cf. §7.9.3. In some cases, particular phonetic developments have substantially disfigured the ending, cf. §7.17.7.

§16.3. The nominative/accusative neuter has both **1.** an ending -*ĭ* and **2.** a zero ending with lengthened grade of the element preceding the ending, as a formal characterization (cf., for example, §18.4). **3.** The thematic inflection has an ending -*ă* in Av., which can be taken back to Ir. *-*a-H*. The underlying ending is PIE *-*h₂* > IIr. *-*H*, which has either become -*i*, lengthened the vowel, or disappeared.

§16.4. The vocative pl. is formally identical to the nom.acc.pl., for both animate and the neuter nouns.

§16.5. The genitive has an ending -*ąm*, coming from *-*ām*. The inflectional classes ending in a vowel show an innovative ending -*nąm*, made by analogy to the *n*-stems. In contrast to the other Indo-Iranian languages, Avestan exhibits a short stem vowel in these forms.

§16.6. The dative/ablative has an ending -*biiō*, which appears as -*biias-ca* before an enclitic. This ending is equivalent to the Skt. -*bhyas*.

§16.7. The instrumental has an ending -*bīš*, Skt. -*bhiḥ*. In some very good manuscripts, -*biš* is also found. In certain cases, special phonetic developments have substantially altered this ending, cf. §11.1.4. In contrast to the other inflectional types, the thematic inflection shows an ending *-*āiš*, Skt. -*ais*.

§16.8. The locative exhibits assorted allomorphs for its ending, which all developed from the ending *-*su*, depending upon the environment in which it falls (i.e., RUKI, etc.): -*šu*, -*su*, and -*hu*. Furthermore, the extension of the loc.pl.

through the addition of the postposition *ā* (just as in the loc.sg. and the abl.sg.) is commonplace.

§17   Inflectional Classes

Every noun in Avestan can be morphologically classified according to the stem formant that it possesses. Internal to each inflectional class, further types may sometimes be distinguished on the basis of particular inflectional behaviors, the origin of which is normally to be sought in ablaut patterns.

Not every inflectional class has subdivisions, but those considered to be the oldest from the point of view of Indo-European inflection indeed do; such classes must therefore be regarded as archaisms in Avestan. The enormous variation entailed not only by the shifting of the accent, but also by the alternation of vowels in the constituent elements of the word, could have already been regularized very early in favor of a single invariable stem with fixed accent. Of all of the types that have been verified as part of Proto-Indo-European inflection with greater or lesser reliability, Avestan has preserved but a tiny remnant, which is clearly disappearing due to regularization.

The two most important types that have been preserved are the proterodynamic and the hysterodynamic. In the proterodynamic type, the root takes the accent in the direct cases, while the suffix receives the accent in the oblique cases. In the hysterodynamic type, the suffix takes the accent in the direct cases, while the ending receives the accent in the oblique cases. As a general rule, the direct cases (also referred to as 'strong') are the nom. of all numbers, the acc.sg. and du., and the loc.sg.; the remaining cases are oblique (also referred to as 'weak'). Keep in mind that the accent and full grade are usually linked (cf. §13.2). Other types of inflectional patterns will be commented on under the corresponding entries.

In general, inflection can be divided into stems ending in a consonant and stems ending in a vowel, which in some cases are the continuants of old consonant stems (i.e., laryngeal stems).

The forms given in the tables below belong solely to Young Avestan, except where expressly indicated to the contrary using *italics*.

§18   Consonant Stems

Consonant stems include an enormous number of stems of diverse nature, but the endings are added to a consonantal element in all of them. The subgroups

TABLE 6   *The inflection of root nouns*

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	m./f.	neut.	m./f.	neut.	m./f.	neut.
nom.	druxš				āpō spasō	
voc.	narə	as-ca	āpa	asta-ca		asti
acc.	āpəm				apō vīsō	
gen.	*drūjō*		narå̇		apąm vīsąm	
abl.	drujaṯ				aiβiiō vīžibiiō	
dat.	*sarōi* ape		nərəbiia			
inst.	*vərədā* apa				mazibīš vayžibīš	
loc.	*sairī* vīsiia				*nāšū*	

into which consonant stems may be divided are **a.** root nouns (with assorted final consonants) and **b.** derived stems, which, in turn, include stems in *-t* and *-aṇt*, stems in *-an*, *-man*, and *-uuan*, stems in *-ar*, and stems in *-ah* and *-uuāh/-uš*.

§18.1   *Root Nouns*

Root nouns constitute an important and archaic class of nouns, characterized by the fact that the stem is equal to the root. The final element of the stem is a consonant (*-c, -j, -t, -d, -θ, -p, -m, -n, -r, -z, -š, -h*), though some other stems having a final vowel (*-ā, -ī, -ū*), which were originally consonantal (< **H*), may be included in this class as well.

The majority of these nouns belongs to the animate class (above all feminines), though some neuters are met with as well. Note further that a good number of root nouns are the second members of compounds.

Words belonging to this class are: *vac-* m. 'voice', °*hac-* 'following'; *druj-* f. 'lie'; *ast-* neut. 'bone', *ābərət-* 'carrier', *stūt-* f. 'praise'; *paθ-* m. 'path'; *pad-* m. 'foot', *vərəd-* f. 'growth', *zərəd-* neut. 'heart'; *ap-* f. 'water', *kəhrp-* f. 'body'; *dam-* m. 'house', *zam-* f. 'earth', *zim-* m. 'winter', *ham-* m. 'summer'; *span-* m. 'dog', °*jan-* 'slayer'; °*kar-* 'who does X, -er', *gar-* f. 'greeting', *nar-* m. 'man', *sar-* f. 'union', *star-* m. 'star'; *nās-* f. 'wait', *vīs-* f. 'tribe, village', *spas-* 'spy'; *dərəz-* f. 'tether, binding', *bərəz-* 'high', *maz-* 'great'; *iš-* f. 'vigor'; *āh-* neut. 'mouth', *māh-* m. 'moon, month'.

Some examples of root nouns terminating in a vowel are: *ādā-* f. 'delivery', *xā-* f. 'well', *maz-dā-* m. 'Mazdā', °*stā* 'standing'; *xšī-* f. 'lament', °*jī-* 'with life', °*frī-* 'pleasing'; °*sū-* 'thriving'.

N.B. The inflection of these stems is very similar, taken as a set, but at times it shows some deviations, which may be the result of a special phonetic

treatments or of morphological processes (ablaut). The details of the actually occurring divergences and possible anomalies will be given in the following overview.

Singular: **1. The nom.sg.** has the ending -*s* in animate stems, with the conditioned variant -*š*: Av. *vāxš* (with lengthened grade; Skt. *vā́k* f.), *druxš* (§ 11.20.5); YAv. *ābərəš*; YAv. *kərəfš* (§ 11.21.5). Root nouns ending in a vowel are also sigmatic: *xå*, °*stå*, *mazdå̊*, *paṇtå̊*² (< *-ā-s* < *-aH-s*; § 7.5.2); *ərəžə-jīš*, *ratu-friš*. Root nouns in a sibilant are sigmatic: YAv. *vīš* (Skt. *víṭ*), *spaš* (§ 11.21.4; Skt. *spáṭ*), OAv. *dərəš-cā*, YAv. *barš* (§ 11.20.5); *må* (Skt. *mā́s*). The nom.sg. of root nouns in -*n* is usually considered to be asigmatic, in spite of some evidence to the contrary: YAv. °*ja* (OAv. hapax *vərəθrajā* [with vv.ll.]; Skt. °*há̄*) versus °*jå̊*, YAv. *spā* (Skt. *śvā́*). Root nouns in -*r* are asigmatic: OAv. *nā*.—**2. The acc.sg.** has the ending -*əm* in animate stems: Av. *vācəm* and YAv. *vācim* (with LG from a FG *o* [cf. the gen., coming from a FG *e*]; Skt. *vā́cam*, Lat. *uōcem*), OAv. *drujəm* (Av. *drujəm* and YAv. *drujim*; § 7.14.4); YAv. *ābərətəm*, *pāδəm* (LG, cf. Lat. *pēs*, versus the FG *o* in the pl.; Skt. *pā́dam*); *āpəm* (LG), OAv. *kəhrpəm* (YAv. *kəhrpəm*). Root nouns in -*m* present some problems, because they seem to lack a formal marker of the acc. due to the fact that acc. *-m* merged with the *-m-* of the stem before the IIr. sequence *-m-m* could have become *-m-am*: Av. *zạm* (cf. also Skt. *kṣā́m*), YAv. *ziiạm*; °*janəm* (Skt. °*hánam*), *spānəm* (§ 7.4.6; Skt. *śvā́nam*); Av. *narā̆m* (Skt. *náram*), *sarə̄m*; *vīsəm* (Skt. *víśam*), YAv. *spasəm*, *bərəzəm*, OAv. *īšəm*; YAv. *må̊ŋhəm* (cf. § 7.5.1; Skt. *mā́sam*). Vowel stems: °*stạm*, Av. *mazdạm*, YAv. *paṇtạm* (Skt. *pánthām*; also YAv. *paṇtānəm*); *yauuaē-jim*, °*sum*.—**3. The voc.sg.** has a zero ending: YAv. *narə* (with FG); ending in a vowel: OAv. *mazdā*.—**4. The nom./acc.neut.** has a zero ending: YAv. *as-ca* (hapax < *ast-ca*; more frequent is *astəm* [!])—**5. The gen.sg.** has the ending *ō* (< *-as*, but cf. § 7.13.1): YAv. *vacō*, *drūjō*; *ābərətō*, *astō*, Av. *paθō* (cf. fn. 2 below); *ăpō* (Skt. *apás*). Among root nouns in -*m*, a genitive ending with ZG may be found: OAv. *dǝ̄ng* (< *daNs*; § 7.9.3), in a formation very similar to the proterodynamic genitives of *n*-stems (§ 18.4); cf. also OAv. *adạs* (< *ā dạs*?, abl.), versus Av. *zəmō* (Skt. *jmás*) and YAv. *zimō* (and *zəmō*); °*ɣnō* (Skt. °*ghnás*), *sūnō* (Skt. *śúnas*). Traces of ablaut remain in root nouns in -*r*: cf. *garō* versus *nərəš* (YAv. *narš*; Skt. *narás*); old and similar to the *r*-stems (§ 18.5) are OAv. *sarō* (also *sarā*), YAv. *vīsō* (Skt. *viśás*), OAv. *mazā* (abl.),

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2   The inflection of this noun in Avestan seems to be composed of two suspiciously similar stems: *paθ-* and *paṇtā-*. Both stems are explicable through sound change. The stem that underlies the Avestan stem would be PIE *penth₁-* or *ponth₁-*, whose Av. nom.sg. *paṇtå̊* comes from IIr. *pántaHs*; cf. Skt. *pánthās* (where the *th* is secondary by analogy to the oblique cases), while the gen.sg. *paθō* comes from IIr. *pṇtHás*; cf. Skt. *pathás*. The exact PIE etymology of this noun is disputed.

bərəzō; YAv. *måŋhō*, OAv. *åŋhō* (Skt. *āsás*). Vowel stems: Av. °*štå*, *mazdå*.—**6. The abl.sg.** is, in Old Av., identical to the genitive, but in Young Avestan, it has replaced **-s/h* by *-t* following the thematic inflection (§ 19.16.): *āpaṯ, zəmā̆ṯ* (also *zəmāδa*); *vīsaṯ*; °*ɣnaṯ*.—**7. The dat.sg.** has as its ending (< PIE **-ei̯*) OAv. *-ōi* and YAv. *-e*, the latter reintroduced into OAv. as *-ē* (§ 14.6): *ābərəte; ape* (*apaē-ciṯ*); °*ɣne* (Skt. °*ghné*), *sūne* (Skt. *śúne*); *gairē, narōi* (YAv. *naire*; Skt. *naré*), *sarōi; vīse* (Skt. *viśé*), *mazōi*. Vowel stems: °*štāi*, °*šte; ərəžə-jiiōi*.—**8. The inst.sg.**: *vaca* (Skt. *vācā́*); *zərədā-cā, paθa; apa* (Skt. *apā́*), *kəhrpa; zəmā, hama; vīsa* (Skt. *viśā́*), *dərəzā*; OAv. *ə̄å̄ŋhā* (YAv. *åŋha*; Skt. *āsā́*).—**9. The loc.sg.** has the ending *-ĭ*, to which the postposition *ā* can be added. In some cases, a locative with a zero ending, but formally marked through ablaut, is detectable. Examples: *paiθī; kəhrpiia; dąm* (< **dām*, YAv. *dąmi), zəmē* (< **-ai*; Skt. *jmay-ā́*, Gr. χαμαί) and *zəmi* (Skt. *kṣámi*); *vīsi* (Skt. *viśi*) and *vīsiia* with postposition.

Dual: **10. The nom./acc./voc.du.**: *ābərəta; pāδa, āpa* (Skt. *ā́pā*); *spāna* (Skt. *śvā́nā*).—**11. The nom./acc./voc.neut.du.**: *asta-ca*.—**12. The gen.du.**: *narā̊* (Skt. *nárā*).—**13. The abl./dat./inst.du.**: *vaɣžibiiā-ca; nərəbiia*.

Plural: **14. The nom.pl.** has the ending *-ō* < **-as* < PIE **-es*. Although the nom.pl. is considered a direct case while the acc.pl. is considered oblique, it is not infrequent to find an acc.pl. that is formally a nom.pl. However, both cases are clearly differentiated in those stems which show ablaut: *vācō; ābərətō; āpō* (Skt. *ā́pas*); *zəmō* (Skt. *kṣámas*), *zimō*, °*janō* (Skt. °*hánas*), *spānō* (Skt. *śvā́nas*); *narō* (Skt. *náras*); *spasō; išō; måŋhō*; vowel stems: *xå*, °*štå, paṇtānō; ratu-friiō*.—**15. The acc.pl.** has the ending *-ō* < **-as* < PIE **-ṇs*: *vacō; paθō, paδō*. Among labial-stem root nouns, the OAv. hapax *apō* (with FG as in Skt. *apás*) stands out in contrast to YAv. *āpō* (with generalized LG), *kəhrpas-ca; zəmas-ca*; °*janō* (Skt. °*ghnás*); *garō, nərəš* (Skt. *nṛ́n); vīsō* (Skt. *viśás*), *išō, måŋhō*. Vowel stems: *yauuaējiiō*.—**16. The nom./acc./voc.neut.pl.**: *asti*.—**17. The gen.pl.**: *astąm, paθąm; apąm* (Skt. *apā́m*), *kəhrpąm; zəmąm-ca*; °*ɣnąm, sunąm* (Skt. *śúnām*); *narąm* (Skt. *narā́m*), *strēm-cā* (YAv. *strąm); vīsąm* (Skt. *visā́m*); vowel stems: *xąm*.—**18. The abl./dat.pl.**: *aiβiiō* (*ap-*; Skt. *adbhyás*); *nərəbiias-cā* (Skt. *nṛ́bhyas*) as well as YAv. *nərəbiiō, nəruiiō* (§ 11.1.4); *vīžibiiō* (Skt. *viḍbhyás*), *vāɣžibiiō* (Skt. *vāgbhyás*). Vowel stems: *yauuaējibiiō*.—**19. The inst.pl.**: *azdibīš, padəbīš* (*paθ-*), *garōibīš, mazibīš, vaɣžibiš* (Skt. *vāgbhiḥ*).—**20. The loc.pl.**: vowel stems: *ratu-frišu*.

§ 18.2 *Stems in* -t, -aṇc

Among the dental stems, there are some nouns with the suffixes *-t-* and *-tāt-*, used to create abstract nouns, such as *amərətatāt-* f. 'immortality', *hauruuatāt-* f. 'wholeness, perfection', *yauuaētāt-* f. 'eternity'. Ablaut is found in the inflection of some nouns: cf. *napāt-* m. 'grandson', and the directional adjectives in

*-anc,³ derived from adverbs, such as *apā̊ṇc-* 'apart', *frā̊ṇc-* 'forward', *niiā̊ṇc-* 'downward'.

The inflection of these invariable stems can be inferred from Table 6 in §18.1. The forms of *napāt-* are nom.sg. *napā̊* (*napāts), acc.sg. *napātəm*, gen.sg. *naptō*, and loc.pl. *nafšu* (*naptsu).

For the **aṇc*-stems, the following forms may be adduced: nom.sg.m. *apą̄š* < **apa-ank-š*, *frą̄š*, acc.sg. m. *niiā̊ṇcim* (with analogical **ā*, cf. Skt. *nyàñcam*), the inst.sg. *apāca* (Skt. *apāca*), and the nom.pl.m. *niiā̊ṇcō*.

§18.3   *Stems in -nt*

This formant is found in the present active participle in *-aṇt*, with an invariable stem in the case of thematic verbs: *jasaṇt-* 'coming', *jaiδiiaṇt-* 'praying'. Athematic verbs, meanwhile, exhibit ablaut: *surunuuaṇt-/surunuuat-* 'listening', *haṇt-/hat-* 'being'. Possessive adjectives in *-uuaṇt-/-uuat-* (IE **-u̯ent-/*-u̯n̥t-*) and *-maṇt-/-mat-* (IE **-ment-/*-mn̥t-*), and some adjectives in *-aṇt*, are to be included here as well: *bərəzaṇt-* 'high', OAv. *drəguuaṇt-*, YAv. *druuaṇt-* 'wicked', *fšumaṇt-* 'having cattle'.

With regard to inflection, note that the athematic nom.sg.m. ends in *-ō* in YAv., which must be explained from an ending **-as* < IIr. **-at-s*. In thematic stems, the ending **-ant-s* is reflected in YAv. as *-ą* (*-ə̄* when denasalized) and in OAv. as *-ąs*. While YAv. *-ą* is the outcome of the phonetic development of IIr. **-ans* (cf. §§7.9.3, 7.17.3, 19.1.16), OAv. *-ąs* reflects the analogical restitution of the stem *-ant* from the oblique cases. Keep in mind that, in these stems, the masc. and fem. nom.acc.sg. are considered direct cases (cf. §17), but the neut. nom.acc.sg. inflects as an oblique case, cf. *cuuaṯ* 'how much'. In **-mant-* and **-u̯ant*-stems, analogy to the stems in *-uuāh/-uš* has induced the substitution of the nom.sg. in **-u̯ant-s* (e.g., *cuuąs* 'how much') by **-u̯ās* and **-mās* (e.g., *astuuā̊* 'bone (→ material)', *xratumā̊* 'intelligent'). Note similarly the voc.sg. *druuō* < **drugʰ-u̯as* 'wicked'.

§18.4   *Stems in -an, -man, -uuan, -in*

The suffix *-n-*, originally individualizing in function, occurs directly affixed to the verbal root (e.g., *tašan-* 'shaper, creator', Skt. *tákṣan-*), but also in the compound suffixes **-man*, **-u̯an*, **-Han*, or *-in*. The last two have possessive value and almost always form adjectives. Some examples are *cašman-* 'sight' (Skt. *cakṣ* 'see'), *nāman-* 'name', *ašauuan-* 'truthful' (from *aša-* 'order, truth'), *mąθrān-* 'knowing the *mąθras*' (**mąθra-Han-*), *kainīn-* 'girl' (**kani-Hn-*), *parənin-* 'with

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3 With the PIE suffix **-h₃kʷ-* 'looking towards'; the nasal was introduced in Indo-Iranian.

feathers' (from *parəna-* 'feather'), *zruuan-* 'time' (from PIE **ǵr̥h₂-u̯en-*, cf. Gr. γέρων 'old man').

With the exception of the *in*-stems, all of these stems have an ablauting inflection, which can considerably alter the appearance of the word. The nom.sg. regularly has LG and loses the final nasal: OAv. *uruuā*, YAv. *uruua* 'spirit', *kaine* (Skt. *kanₓyā̀*). The other direct cases show an alternation between FG (acc.sg. *asmanəm* 'sky', nom.pl. *aṣauuanō*) or LG (acc.sg. *tašānəm*, nom.pl. *marətānō* 'mortals') as the result of BRUGMANN (§7.4.6) or of **H*.

The acc.sg.neut. has ZG (*nąma* 'name'). In the gen.sg., the endings **-n-as* (> *-nō*) and **-an-s* (> *-ə̄ṇg, -ą̇*): OAv. *mą̄θrānō*, YAv. *tašnō*; OAv. *cašmə̄ṇg*, YAv. *dāmąn* (← **dāmą̇*), *zrū* (§7.17.3). The abl.sg., besides the forms that are identical to the gen., shows other innovative forms, such as YAv. *cašmanaṯ* or *barəsmən* 'sacrificial straw', which exhibits the YAv. substitution of original **-an-s* by **-an-t* > **-ənt* > *-ən*. There are also ablaut variants in the nom.acc.pl.; furthermore, a hypercharacterizing **-i* may be found after the ending. Thus, the following endings occur: *-ąm* < **-ām* (after labial consonants) ← **-ān* (cf. Skt. *kármā*): OAv. *anafšmąm*, *dāmąm* 'creatures' (cf. §11.3.3); *-āni* (cf. Skt. *kármāṇī*): OAv. *afšmānī*, YAv. *cinmāni* 'desires' (cf. the types such as OP *taumani*, Lat. *nōmina*, OCS *imena*); *-anī* (originally dual? cf. Skt. du. *kármāṇī*): OAv. *nāmə̄nī* 'names'.

Note also that *aṣauuan-* has a lengthened presuffixal vowel in some cases (cf. Skt. *r̥tā́van-*, OP *ar̥tāvā* < **r̥tā́u̯an-*), especially in OAv.: gen.sg. OAv. *aṣāunō* (**artā-un-as*) versus YAv. *aṣaonō* (**arta-un-as*; made by analogy to the short vowel of the nom.), but voc.sg. YAv. *aṣāum* (**artā-un*). As for stems in *-in* (cf. Skt. *hastín-* 'with hands'), the nom.sg. has *-ī* (from **-īn*), while the other case forms show the regular stem in *-in*.

§18.5 r-*stems*

This group is composed of kinship nouns in *-(t)ar*, nomina agentis in *-tar*, as well as a few other isolated stems. Examples: *pitar-* 'father', *mātar-* 'mother', *brātar-* 'brother', *xᵛaŋhar-* 'sister', *zaotar-* 'priest' (Skt. *hótar-* 'pourer'), *nar-* 'man', *star-* m. 'star', *ātar-* neut. 'fire' (on root nouns in *-r*, cf. §18.1).

The nom.sg. has LG and is asigmatic. The final **-r* seems to have been lost already in the IIr. period: *xᵛaŋha*, Skt. *svásā*. The nom.sg. *ātarš* constitutes an exception, both because it is a sigmatic nominative and because it has an acc.sg. with ZG of the suffix, YAv. *ātrəm*. In the animate nouns, the direct cases show the same alternation between FG and LG of the suffix that is seen in the *n*-stems, which can be attributed to the effects of BRUGMANN (§7.4.6), e.g., *pitarəm* versus *dātārəm*. The two distinct forms of the gen.sg. in **-r-as* and in **-ar-š* (< **-r̥-š* > Skt. *-ur*), alongside the abl.sg. in **-ṯ*, *narəṯ* 'from the man', are also found here. On the acc.pl. in **-r̥-nš* (*narą̇s*, *strə̄š*), cf. §7.7.

§18.6   r/n-*stems* (*Heteroclites*)

These stems make up a small number of neuter nouns that are usually called
'heteroclites' because they alter the final segment of the stem throughout their
inflectional paradigm: a stem in -*r* in the nom.acc. and a stem in -*n* in the
oblique cases. This class goes back to Indo-European; cf. Gr. ὕδωρ, ὕδατος (<
*-*n̥tos*) 'water', Lat. *iecur, iecinoris* 'liver'. Nouns belonging to this class include
huuarə 'sun, eye', *aiiarə* 'day', *yārə* 'year', *yakarə* 'liver' (though of the latter two,
no *n*-stem forms are attested in Avestan), but also nouns derived using the stem
*-*u̯er/u̯en*-, such as *θanuuarə* 'bow' (Skt. *dhánvan-*), *karšuuarə* 'section of the
world' (*karš* 'cut').

Some noteworthy forms of the paradigm follow here. The gen.sg. in *-*an-s*
gives different outcomes in each variety: OAv. *xᵛə̄ṇg* < *huu̯anh[4] (cf. §11.30), YAv.
hū < *huu̯anh (§7.17.3), *aiiąn* (v.l. of *aiią*) < *ai̯anh (§7.9.3). Intraparadigmatic
analogy (cf. the nom.sg. IIr. *suHar) resulted in the YAv. gen.sg. *hūrō*. Various
formations occur in the nom.acc.pl.: **1.** with LG of the stem terminating in -*r*
especially in OAv.: *aiiārə̄, saxᵛārə̄*. This formation is very archaic, judging from
the Anatolian evidence: Hitt. *uttār* 'words'; **2.** in -*n*: *aiiąn, karšuuąn*; and **3.** in
*-*ani* (< PIE *-*enh₂*): OAv. *sāxᵛə̄nī*, YAv. *baēuuani*.

§18.7   h-*stems*

This class includes the PIE neuter *-*s*-stems and adjectival compounds based
on *s*-stems, e.g., *auuah*- 'aid', *manah*- 'spirit', *vacah*- 'word', *zraiiah*- 'lake, sea',
humanah- 'benevolent, of good spirit', *anaocah*- 'unaccustomed to'. This class
also includes comparative adjectives formed with the suffix *-*i̯ah*- (cf. §20.1):
vahiiah- comparative of *vohu*- 'good', as well as some isolated nouns: *ušah*- f.
'dawn', *biiah*- m. 'fear'.

The suffix has FG in in all case forms, apart from the nom.sg. of animates
and the nom.acc.pl. of the neuter, which end in *-*ā̊*, e.g., nom.sg.masc. *ušā̊*,
OAv. *vax́iiā̊*, YAv. *vaŋhā̊* 'better' (versus Skt. *vásyān*; cf. further §18.8), nom.acc.pl.
neut. *raocā̊* 'lights'. The nom.sg.neut. ends in *-*ah* > -*ə̄/-ō*: OAv. *vacā*, OAv./YAv.
vacō (Skt. *vácas*); OAv. *nəmā*, YAv. *nəmō* (Skt. *námas*), etc. On the development
*-*ah* > -*ə̄*, cf. 7.9.4.

An ending *-*āhi* is attested in the nom.acc.pl. neuter, e.g., OAv. *varəcā.hīcā*.
The animate acc.sg. shows various ablaut grades: *-*ah-am* and *-*āh-am*, which
are once more explained by Brugmann (§7.4.6): *ušā̊ŋhəm* but *vaŋhaŋhəm*.

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4   This noun comes from PIE **seh₂-ul-/*sh₂-u̯en*-, i.e., a heteroclite in -*l/n*-.

§ 18.8   *Stems in* -uuāh/-uš, -iš, -uš

The perfect active participle was formed with the ablauting Indo-European suffix *-u̯ōs/-u̯os/-u̯uš*, from which both the nom.sg.m. (IE *-u̯ōs*) as well as the other direct cases (IE *-u̯os-*) come to have persistent LG in Avestan, due to Brugmann (§ 7.4.6). The oblique cases have the ZG *-uš-*. The motion feminine shows *-uš-ī-*; § 19.3. Some examples are *vīduuāh-*/*vīduš-* to *vid* 'know' or *vauuanuuāh-*/*vaonuš-* to *van* 'win, be superior'. The nom.sg.m. does not have the nasal that is characteristic of the perf.part.act. of Skt.: OAv. *vīduuā̊*, YAv. *vīδuuā̊* (Gr. εἰδώς) versus Skt. *vidvā́n* (cf. also § 18.7). Late forms of the nom. of the sort YAv. *zazuua* 'which has left behind' could have arisen by analogy to the *n*-stems (§ 18.4). The acc.sg.m. is YAv. °*vīδuuā̊ŋhəm* < *-āsam*, in contrast to Skt. *vidvā́ṃsam*.

A small number of neuter nouns in *-iš* and *-uš* have an invariable stem throughout the paradigm, e.g., *təuuiš-* 'force', *hadiš-* 'seat', *arəduš-* 'wound'.

§ 19   Vowel Stems

§ 19.1   a-*stems*

This inflectional type is usually referred to as the 'thematic inflection', on account of the fact that the stem ends with the thematic vowel *-a-* < PIE *-e/o-*. The thematic inflection is extremely common, and includes a large number of masculine and neuter nouns, as well as adjectival forms in those genders. Some masc. nouns belonging to this class are Av. *ahura-* 'lord', YAv. *daxma-* 'morgue', Av. *mašiia-* 'mortal', Av. *mąθra-* 'formulation', *yasna-* 'sacrifice', YAv. *vīra-* 'man', Av. *zasta-* 'hand', YAv. *haoma-* 'haoma'. Some neuters are Av. *aša-* 'truth' (sg. only), Av. *uxδa-* 'word', Av. *xšaθra-* 'dominion, power', Av. *miθra-* 'contract'; OAv. *šiiaoθana-* (YAv. *šiiaoθna-*) 'act, deed'. Some adjectives are Av. *aka-* 'bad', Av. *aməša-* 'immortal', Av. *vīspa-* 'all', *hauruua-* 'whole'.

The inflection of thematic nouns is significantly different from the inflection of consonant stems, and it is common to find endings of pronominal origin. Recall that the inflection of neuters differs only in the nom./acc., and is identical to the masculine in all other case forms.

N.B.: *Singular*: **1. The nom.sg.** was OAv. *-ə̄* (< *-ah* < *-as*; cf. §§ 7.9.4, 7.13.1), but in YAv. this ending further developed into *ō*. When followed by an enclitic, the older form of the nom.sg. is preserved in both varieties: *kas-cīṯ*, *gaiias-cā*, *yas-cā*, *yasnas-ca*, etc.—**2. The voc.sg.m/n.** has an ending *-ǎ*: OAv. *ahurā*, YAv. *ahura* (Skt. *asura*); neut. OAv. *ašā*.—**3. The acc.sg.** has the ending *-əm* in YAv. The original form of the OAv. ending is *-ə̄m*, which came to be replaced by *-əm* in many instances: cf. doublets such as OAv. *dāθə̄m* and *dāθəm-ca* (to

TABLE 7   *The inflection of* a-stems

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural | |
	m./f.	neut.	m./f.	neut.	m./f.	neut.
nom.	ahurō				*ahurå̄ŋhō* mašiiă̆	
voc.	ahură̆	ašəm	ahură̆	*śiiaoθanōi* saite		*uxδā*
acc.	ahurəm mašīm				*mašiiə̄ŋg* zastə̄ haomą	xšaθra
gen.	*ahurahiiā* ahurahe		vīraiiå̄		śiiaoθ(a)nanąm	
abl.	ašā̄t̰				*yasnōibiiō*	
dat.	ahurāi		*zastōibiiā* ahuraēibiia		aməšaēibiiō	
inst.	ahură̆				śiiaoθnāiš	
loc.	yesnĕ		*zastaiiō*		vīspaēšū daxmaēšuua	

the adj. *dāθa-* 'suitable'), OAv. *parštãm*, YAv. *parštəm* (ppp. to *fras* 'ask'). On the other hand, the vowel *ə* of the ending could undergo complete assimilation and contraction when in contact with a preceding *i̯* (§ 7.14.4) or *u̯* (§ 7.16.1), i.e., *-ii̯əm* > *-īm*: OAv. *paouruu̯īm* (YAv. *paoirīm*; cf. § 8.2.), Av. *mašīm*, Av. *yesnīm* (but cf. *aniiãm*, acc.sg.m of *aniia-*); or in turn *-u̯u̯əm* > *-ŭm*: YAv. *haurūm*, YAv. *θrišŭm*, YAv. *drūm*. As part of this particular development, account must be taken of the endings *-ai̯am* and *-au̯am* themselves (cf. §§ 10.1.2, 10.3.3, resp.): *gaēm* (acc.sg. of *gaiia-* 'life'; Skt. *gáyam*); YAv. *graom* (acc.sg. of *grauua-* 'cane'); similarly, of the endings *-āi̯am* and *-āu̯am* (cf. §§ 10.5.2, 10.6.2, resp.): OAv. *humāīm* (acc.sg. of *humāiia-*), YAv. *nasāum* (acc.sg. of *nasu-* 'cadaver' < **nasāu̯əm*).—
4. The nom./acc.neut is formally identical to the acc.sg.masc., and thus is unique within the paradigm, since it bears a formal mark of its gender.—**5. The gen.sg**. derives from a PIE ending **-osi̯o* > IIr. **-asi̯a* > Ir. *-ahi̯a*, which has its regular outcome in OAv. as *-ahiiā* and in YAv. as *-ahe* (§ 7.10.3). On the OAv. change experienced by the gen. ending before an enclitic, cf. § 11.28: *ašahiiā*, *spəntahiiā* versus *ašax́iiā-cā*, *spəntax́iiā-cā*.—**6. The abl.sg**. is distinct from the gen.sg. only in the thematic inflection, while in all other inflectional types, both cases exhibit the same form. OAv. has preserved this distinction, with an abl.sg. ending *-āt̰*, which is identical to Skt. *-āt*: Av. *dūrāt̰* 'from afar', Skt. *dūrā́t*. YAv. also possesses the abl. ending *-āt̰*, but note that this ending has been analogically extended to other inflectional classes in YAv.; cf. §§ 18.1.6, 19.2.5, 19.3.5, etc. Preceding the enclitic °*că̆*, the abl.sg. ending appears as *-āat̰-că̆* in the majority of cases. The fact that this development does not occur preceding the enclitic °*cḭ̄t̰* (*ašāt̰cḭ̄t̰*, *ahmāt̰cḭ̄t̰*, *aētahmāt̰cḭ̄t̰*) suggests that *-āat̰-că̆* arose from an effort to distinguish it in pronunciation from the ending *-ā-cā*. In many cases, a shortening is observable in YAv. of *-āt̰* preceding the preposi-

tion *haca*: the two would form a single word, and shortening of the antepenul-
timate syllable would result (cf. §7.3.1): *nmānaṯ haca, vəhrkaṯ haca, spəṇtaṯ
haca.*—**7. The dat.sg**. has the ending *-āi* (< *-ōi̯* < *-o+ei̯*) and exhibits slight
dialectal variation. For its part, the OAv. ending can have an enlargement in
ā (which is not the postposition that commonly appears in the loc.; cf. §16.8,
and below 9 and 21): *ahurāi.ā* (from *ahurāiiā*, later separated during trans-
mission), *yātāiiā* (to *yāta-* 'prayer'; cf. further ch. 2, fn. 5). Similarly, in Sanskrit,
the ending *-āya* occurs; it must be connected with the OAv. forms. Meanwhile,
YAv. shows only the ending *-āi.*—**8. The inst.sg**. has the appearance of a zero
ending, on account of the fact that the PIE ending *-h₁* becomes IIr. *-H*, and
in Avestan the length of word-final vowels is subject to phonological condi-
tions depending upon the variety (§7.2).—**9. The loc.sg**. had, in the thematic
inflection, an ending *-i*, which fused with the thematic vowel: PIE *-oi* > IIr. *-
ai̯*: cf. Gr. οἴκοι versus nom.pl. οἶκοι. This ending has various outcomes in Av.:
OAv. shows *-ōi* and *-ē*: *xšaθrōi, šiiaoθanōi, xᵛaθrē*. The ending properly belong-
ing to YAv. is *-e*, which was introduced and adopted in OAv. (§10.2.2): *šiiaoθane*.
Before enclitics, the outcome *aē* is found (§10.1.1): *aspaēca, vīspaēcǎ*. The loc.
can take the postposition *ā*: OAv. *xšaθrōi.ā, xᵛāθrōiiā*, YAv. *zastaiia, nmānaiia-
ca*.

   Dual: **10. The nom./acc./voc.m**. has an ending *-ǎ*, which comes from Ir. *-ā* <
PIE *-o-h₁*: OAv. *spadā*, YAv. *zasta*; cf. Skt. *hástā, devǎ́* (but in Skt., an ending *-au*
also exists), Gr. λύκω.—**11. The nom./acc./voc.neut**. has an ending OAv. *-ōi*, YAv.
-e, which comes from IIr. *-ai* < *-o-ih₁*: OAv. *šiiaoθanōi*, YAv. *saite, hazaŋre* (Skt.
śaté, sahásre), (f.) *uiie* (Skt. fem./neut. *ubhé* §10.2.3).—**12. The gen.du**. has an
ending *-aiiǎ́* < *-ai̯-ās*, similar to Skt. *-ay-oḥ* < *-ai̯-au̯š*, but in both the gen.du.
and the loc.du., Avestan very likely has archaic endings which have been leveled
into a single form in Skt.: OAv. *ǝsaiiǎ́* (to *ǝsa-* 'part'; Skt. *áṁsayoḥ*); *rǝnaiiǎ́* (to
rāna- '?'); YAv. *dōiθraiiǎ́, vīraiiǎ́*; meanwhile—**13. the loc.du**. has an ending *-aiiō*
< *-ai̯-au*: OAv. *zastaiiō, ubōiiō* (Skt. *hástayoḥ, ubháyoḥ*), YAv. ⁺*uuaiiō*.—**14. The
abl./dat./inst.du**. comes out of an ending *-ai̯bi̯ā* > OAv. *-ōibiiā*, YAv. *-aēibiia*:
zastōibiiā (Skt. *hástābhyām*), *ubōibiiā* (Skt. *ubhǎ́bhyām*), *rānōibiiā, aspaēibiia,
gaošaēibiia* (and *gaošaēᵝe*), *maēγaēibiia*. We also find the ending *-ābiia* in YAv.
pāšnābiia, dōiθrābiia.

   Plural: **15. The nom./voc.pl**. of the thematic inflection in Avestan cannot,
as in other IE languages, be derived from an ending *-ōs* < *-o+es*, but rather
must be related to forms of the type Lat. *locus* (pl. *loca*), that is to say, reflect
an old collective ending *-ā* < *-eh₂*: Av. *mašiiǎ*. The IIr. ending *-ās* < PIE
-o+es would have given *-ǎ* in Av. (cf. §7.5.2), but its presence in the texts
cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless, a recharacterized ending *-ǎ̊ŋhō* < *-āsas*
(> OP *-āha*), similar to Skt. *-āsas*, can be found in various instances: OAv.

zauuīštiiåṇhō, *vīspåṇhō*, (voc.) *mašiiåṇhō*, Av. *ahurå̊ṇhō*.—**16. The acc.pl**. shows a number of endings, due to some specific sound changes. The OAv. ending is *-ə̄ṇg < *-ans <* PIE **-o-ns*, while that of YAv. is *-ə̄*, but *-ą* after a nasal (cf. §7.9.3), though both forms of the ending are occasionally extended to other environments. Before enclitics, an ending *-ąs°* is found: OAv. *mąθrąs-ca*, Av. *mašiiąs-ca*, *yasnąs-cǎ*, YAv. *haomąs-ca*. In YAv., *-ə̄s* also occurs before enclitics: *aməšə̄s-ca*, *ciθrə̄s-ca*, *vīspə̄s-ca*. Curious is the YAv. form *ańiiå̊s-cit*, with *-å̊s°* for *-ąs°*. In addition, it is common in YAv. to find forms of the nom.pl. used in place of the forms of the acc.pl.—**17. The nom./acc./voc.neut.pl**. has an ending *-ǎ <* PIE **-eh₂*: OAv. *śiiaoθanā*, YAv. *śiiaoθna*, Av. *yesniiā-cā*. Forms with an ending *-å̊*, explicable as analogically borrowed from neuters in *-ah*, also exist.—**18. The gen.pl**. has the ending *-anąm*, deriving from **-ānām* (with analogical shortening of the first *ā*). The expected ending is found in YAv. *mašiiānąm*, probably preserved through an effect of the *-i̯-*. Finally, in contrast to the reconstructable ending **-ām*, IIr. shows an innovation in the form of a nasal inserted into the ending, which is originally the form of the gen.pl. in *n*-stems (§19.1.18): *yasna-n-ąm*.—**19. The abl./dat.pl**. has as an ending OAv. *-ōibiiō*, YAv. *-aēibiiō*: OAv. *vīspōibiiō*, *uxδōibiiō* (Skt. *ukthébhyas*), *miθrōibiiō*, YAv. *aməšaēibiiō spəṇtaēibiiō*, but forms with the ending *-aēibiiō* are also to be seen in OAv.: *dāθaēibiiō*, *marətaēibiiō*. Note that an *-i-* of pronominal origin (already in IIr.) is inserted between the thematic vowel and the ending. Before enclitics, the ending appears as *-aēibiias°*, which exactly reflects the IIr. ending **bʰi̯as >* Skt. *-bhyas*: *dātōibiias-cā*, *vīspaēibiias-ca* (Skt. *víśvebhyas*).—**20. The inst.pl**. of the thematic inflection diverges from the rest of the case forms, in that it shows an ending *-ōiš*, deriving from PIE **-ōis*: OAv. *zastāiš* (Skt. *hástaiḥ*), *mąθrāiš*, Av. *mašiiāiš-cǎ*—**21. The loc.pl**. shows an ending *-aēšu < *-ai̯šu*: *nmānaēšu*, *mašiiaēšū* (Skt. *mártyeṣu*), *vīspaēšū*. Note the frequent addition of the postposition *ā* after the loc. (§16.8): *daxmaēšuua*, *°stānaēšuua* 'stable'.

§19.2   ā-*stems*

The *ā*-stems make up a class of numerous feminine nouns, whose origin goes solidly back to the parent language. In effect, the *-ā* of the stem goes back to PIE **-ā < *-eh₂*, a reconstruction that allows for the *ā*-stems to be historically connected to the ablauting *ī*-stems (*< *-ih₂*; *devī́*-type), whose formal similarity is more than evident (cf. §19.3). The adjectives of the thematic inflection model their feminine forms after this inflection class. Some words that belong to this class are Av. *uruuarā-* 'plant', *gaēθā-* 'living being', *daēnā-* 'religion', *sāsnā-* 'teaching', YAv. *grīuuā-* 'neck', *vąθβā-* 'herd, flock', *zaoθrā-* 'libation'.

TABLE 8   *The inflection of ā-stems*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
nom.	daēnǎ	*ubē*	gaēθå̊
voc.	daēne	*uruuaire*	
acc.	daēnąm		
gen.	daēnaiiå̊	uruuaraiiå̊	gaēθanąm
abl.	daēnaiiāṭ	*vąθβābiia*	*gaēθābiiō* gaēθāuuiiō
dat.	daēnaiiāi		
inst.	daēnǎ daēnaiiǎ		gaēθābīš
loc.	grīuuaiia	(= gen.du.)	*gaēθāhū* gaēθāhuua

N.B.: *Singular*: **1. The nom.sg**. has a zero ending and thus terminates in *-ǎ*, depending on the dialect (cf. § 7.2). Comparison with other languages (Skt., OP, Gr.) yields the reconstruction $*$-ā < $*$-eh_2.—**2. The acc.sg**. has an ending -ąm < $*$-ām; cf. § 7.6.2.—**3. The voc.sg**. of this inflectional class reflects an IIr. ending $*$-ai̯ (Skt. -e): *uruuaire* (cf. Skt. *aśve*). However, in contrast to this diphthongal ending in IIr., other languages show forms in *-ǎ*: Gr. νύμφα, δίκα, Umbr. *tursa* (nom. *-o*), which should not be compared to certain Av. forms in *-ǎ* in which the nom. performs the functions of the voc. Originally, the voc. was probably a case with a zero ending; in some languages (cf. above), it may be seen that, in this case form, the laryngeal disappeared, leaving behind coloration as its only trace; cf. further stems in *-ī* (§ 19.3.3).—**4. The gen.sg**. has an ending -aiiå̊ < $*$-ā̯i̯ās, similar to the ending of other Iranian languages that also share the *-ǎ-*, versus other endings such as those of OP in *-āyā* and those of Skt. in *-āyās*. We suppose that the *-ǎ-* has been extended from the inst.sg. in -aiiā (cf. below and also § 7.3.2). Other languages present an ending that comes from PIE $*$-eh_2-es: cf. Dor. Gr. τιμᾶς, etc., and traces in Lat. *familiās, uiās*, Umbr. *tutas* 'city'.—**5. The abl.sg**. is identical to the gen.sg., but YAv. has adopted, just as in other inflectional classes, an ending -aii-āṭ formed after the thematic inflection (§ 19.1.6): *uruuaraiiāṭ, zaoθraiiāṭ*.—**6. The dat.sg**. has an ending -aiiāi < $*$-ā̯i̯āi̯ (on the *-ǎ-*, cf. the gen.sg.), comparable to -āyai of Skt.: *sūryā́yai*, etc. Examples from other languages, such as Gr. χώρᾱι, Lat. *uiae*, or Oscan *deívaí* allow for the reconstruction of an ending $*$-ā̯i̯ < $*$-eh_2-ei̯.—**7. The inst.sg**. has two forms: one, *daēnaiiǎ*, agrees with the corresponding Skt. forms in *-ayā* (and which, as has been mentioned, serves as a model for some oblique cases of the paradigm), and the other, *daēnǎ*, formed with just the pure stem plus the ending. Skt. also possesses both endings: *jihvā́* and *jihváyā*; the forms in *-ayā* are more common.

Dual: **8. The nom./acc./voc.du**. has an ending -ě̄, equivalent to Skt. -e: *ubhé* 'both', *śípre* 'cheeks'. It is usually reconstructed as PIE $*$-eh_2-ih_1.—**9. The**

gen./loc.du. shows an ending equivalent to Skt. *-áyoḥ*—**10. The abl./dat./inst. du.** has an ending that is only slightly different from that which Skt. presents in *-ābhyām* (§ 15.3).

Plural: **11. The nom./acc./voc.pl.** exhibits an ending *-ā̊* from IIr. **-ās* (< PIE **-eh₂-es*) > Skt. *-ās* (*priyā́s*, but also *priyā́sas*). Before enclitics, this ending appears as *-ā̊s°* (cf. ch. 2, fn. 2): *uruuarā̊scă*. The nom. and the acc. were identical in Indo-Iranian. Comparison reveals some languages with an equivalent ending: Skt. *pṛtanās*, Goth. *gibos* (Germanic **-ōz*), and (Balto-Slavic) Lith. *mergàs*, while others show an ending deriving from **-āns < *-eh₂-ns*: Cret. Gr. σκι-ανς (Attic-Ionic σκιᾱ́ς < **-ans*), Lat. *uiās*, Umbr. *vitlaf* (Lat. *uitulās*), OCS *ženy*. One thinks of different dialectal (or already IE?) treatments of **-eh₂-ns*: in one group, the nasal was lost in this sequence, while in the other group, it was maintained (or restored?).[5]—**12. The gen.pl.** shows an ending in *-anąm* with short -ă-, in contrast to the other Indo-Iranian languages, which have an ending in *-ānām* (cf. §§ 7.3.1 and esp. 19.1.18). In the YAv. form *γənąnąm(ca)*, the monosyllabic stem *γnā-* may have been restored.—**13. The abl./dat.pl.** shows an ending equivalent to Skt. *-ābhyas*. Before enclitics, the Av. ending appears as *-ābiias°*: *uruuarābiiasca, zaoθrābiiasca*. The YAv. forms *gaēθāuuiiō* and *vōiγnāuuiiō* exhibit the regular lenition explained under § 11.1.4.—**14. The inst.pl.** is formed in the usual fashion and is equivalent to the Skt. ending -*ābhiḥ*.—**15. The loc.pl.** is formed in the usual fashion with the ending *-hu* (Skt. -*su*). Note the frequent addition of the postposition *ā* after the loc. ending (§ 16.8), which took place sufficiently late so as not to show the development **-hu̯- > *-ŋᵛh-* between vowels: (§ 11.31): *gaēθāhuua* (*gaēθāhū*), *gāθāhuua*.

§ 19.3   ī-*stems*

The *ī*-stems make up a class of relatively numerous and very productive feminine nouns, which were already present in the parent language. The stem exhibits an ablaut *-ī-/-iiā-* in Avestan, which goes back to PIE **-ī- < *-ih₂-* / **-i̯ā- < *-i̯eh₂-*. *ī*-stems are basically used to form motion feminines to athematic forms, i.e., to provide the corresponding feminine form to athematic nouns and adjectives (cf. § 20): e.g., YAv. *daēuuī-* '(evil) goddess', *dāθrī-* '(female) giver', *nāirī-* 'woman' (from *nar-*), *sūnī-* 'bitch' (from *span-*). Cf. further adjectival forms, especially stems in *-u, -a, -u̯ant, -mant*, and participles in *-ant* and *-uš*, e.g., Av. *vaŋᵛhī-* to *vohu-* 'good', *aṣaonī-* to *aṣauuan-* 'truthful', *bauuaiṇtī-* to *bauuaṇt-* 'becoming', *ciciθuší-* to *ciciθβah-* 'having perceived'.

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5   From an IE sequence **-eh₂ns*, a realization **-eh₂n̥s* is normally to be expected, but in this sequence, the same development as in forms such as Gr. Ζῆν, βοῦν (βῶν); Skt. *dyā́m, gā́m*; Lat. *diem*, Umbr. *bum*, may have occurred, where **-eu̯m → *-ēm* (Lex STANG), i.e. **-eh₂ns → *-āns*.

TABLE 9   *The inflection of ī-stems*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
nom.	ašaonī̆		
voc.	ašaonī̆	*azī*	ašaonīš
acc.	ašaonīm		
gen.	ašaoniiā̊		ašaoninąm
abl.	(YAv. barəθriiāṯ)		ašaonibiiō
dat.	ašaoniiāi		
inst.	vaŋᵛiiă̆		
loc.			xšaθrišu barəθrišuua

N.B. Not all case forms are attested, for which reason there are gaps in the chart above. In the following notes, correspondences with Skt. will be indicated systematically.

Singular: **1. The nom.sg**. has a zero ending, and so terminates in -*ī̆*, depending upon the dialect (§ 7.2). Comparison with other languages (Skt. -*ī*, Gr. -ι ̆ǎ) allows for the reconstruction of an ending *-*ī* < PIE *-*ih₂*; cf. Skt. *devī́*.—**2. The acc.sg**. has an ending -*īm*, cf. Skt. *devī́m*, which must go back to *-*īm* < *-*ih₂-m*.[6]—**3. The voc.sg**. terminates in -*ī̆*, from which one cannot tell whether it is the original voc. form or rather nom. *pro* voc. Skt. shows an ending -*i*: *dévi* << PIE *-*ih₂*; on the loss of the laryngeal, cf. § 19.2.3.—**4. The gen.sg**. has an ending -*iiā̊* < *-*i̯ās* < PIE *-*i̯eh₂-s*; cf. Skt. *devyā́s*.—**5. The abl.sg**. has, in YAv., an ending -*iiāṯ*, remodeled by analogy after the thematic declension (§ 19.1.6). In OAv. (and in the rest of the IE languages), it is identical to the genitive (cf. above).—**6. The dat.sg**. has an ending -*iiāi*, which can be taken back to *-*i̯āi* < PIE *-*i̯eh₂-ei̯*; cf. Skt. *devyái*.—**7. The inst.sg**. has an ending -*iiă̆*; cf. Skt. *devyā́* (< PIE *-*i̯eh₂-h₁*, with ZG?)—**8. The loc.sg**. is *devyā́m* in Skt.

Dual: **9. The nom./acc./voc.du**. has an ending in -*ī̆*; cf. Skt. *devī́*. The du. is not well attested in Avestan. Skt. has *dévī* for the voc.du., *devī́bhyām* for the dat./abl.du., and *devyós* for the gen./loc.du.

Plural: **10. The nom./voc.pl**. shows an ending -*īš*; cf. Skt. *devī́ḥ*. Its reconstruction is disputed, because the expected ending, parallel to the ending reconstructed for the -*ā*-declension, would have been PIE *-*i̯eh₂-es* (or *-*ih₂-es*), whereas -*īš* can only go back to IIr. **-*iHs*. The case ending here has probably been subject to influence from the corresponding ending of the -*ā*-inflection.—

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6   In some other languages, however, there are also indications of a FG *-*i̯eh₂m*, cf. Goth. *mauja* to *mawi*.

11. The gen.pl. shows an ending *-inąm*, with *-ĭ-*, versus Skt. *devī́nām*; on the vowel shortening, see the ending *-anąm* of the *ā*-stems with *-ă-* (on this change, cf. §19.2.12). The form *vaŋᵛhīnąm* owes its *-ī-* to the preceding labial glide, *ŋᵛh* (§7.15.1). The same takes place in the—**12. abl./dat.pl**. form *vaŋᵛhībiiō*, which normally has an ending *-ibiiō*; cf. Skt. *devī́bhyas*.—**13. The inst.pl**. is *devī́bhiḥ* in Skt. **14. The loc.pl**. has an ending *-išu*, which, with the usual postposition *ā*, becomes *-išuua* (§16.8); cf. Skt. *devī́ṣu*.

§19.4   ū-*stems*

Just as with the *ī*-stems, it is presumed that *ū*-stems served to make derived feminines, using the suffix *-h₂*, to *u*-stems. In Avestan, only three witnesses to this formation are found. These forms are distinguished from *u*-stems through their inflection, insofar as they are clearly hysterodynamic forms. Each one of these stems has corresponding forms preserved in Sanskrit: *tanū-* 'body' (Skt. *tanū́-*), *aɣrū-* 'unmarried, virgin' (Skt. *agrū́-* < PIE *ṇ-gᵘrh₂-úh₂-* 'not-pregnant') and *hizū-* (along with *hizuuā-*) 'tongue' (Skt. *juhū́-* and *jihvā́-*). It is likely that these stems were already seen as simple stems in *-u* with hysterodynamic inflection in YAv. times.

Singular: **1. The nom.sg**. *tanuš* has a short vowel *-u-*, in contrast to Skt. *tanū́ḥ*, possibly due to the influence of *u*-stems.—**2. The acc.sg**. YAv. *tanūm* can go back to **tanuu̯am* from **tanuHṃ*, which seems to be confirmed in OAv. *tanuuām*, cf. Skt. *tanᵤvàm*.—**3. The gen.sg**. *tanuuō*, *hizuuō* has an ending **-uH-as*, proper to the hysterodynamic type.—**4. The abl.sg**. YAv. *tanuuaṯ* has an ending remade by analogy after the thematic inflection (§19.1.6).—**5. The dat.sg**. *tanuiiē* shows the development of the sequence *-u̯ai* into *-uiiē* (§10.2.3).—**6. The inst.sg**. *tanuua* is the equivalent of Skt. *tanᵤvằ*, but Av. *hizuuă* could equally continue an original form in **-uH-aH* or an inst.sg. **hizu̯ā* from an *ā*-stem.—**7. The loc.sg**. *tanuui* represents **tan-uH-i*.

Plural: **8. The nom./acc.pl**. *aɣruuō* goes back to an IIr. ending **-uH-as*. OAv. °*tanuuō* shows a trisyllabic scansion: /ta-nu-u̯ah/.—**9. The gen.pl**. has taken the ending *-unąm*, found for the expected **-uH-nām*, from the *u*-stems; cf. Skt. *tanū́nām*.—**10. The abl./dat.pl**. similarly has an ending with *-u*: *tanubiiō*; cf. Skt. *tanū́bhyas*.—**11. The inst.pl**. is attested only in OAv. *hizubīš* (Skt. *juhū́bhiḥ*), which implies, at least for OAv., that this whole class is remodeled after *u*-stems.—This conclusion finds further confirmation in the OAv. **12. loc.pl**. ⁺*tanušū-cā*, YAv. *tanušu*.

§19.5   i- *and* u-*stems*

The paradigms of *i*- and *u*-stems exhibit such similarity that the two inflectional types may be presented conjointly. The endings are the same as the endings

TABLE 10   *The inflection of* i- *and* u-*stems*

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
nom.	ašiš	xratuš	paiti *mańiiū* ərəzu neut. aši vaŋʰhi		ašaiiō	*xratauuō*
voc.	°paite	mańiiō				
acc.	ašīm	xratūm			gairīš	*xratūš*
nom.acc.neut.	*būiri°*	vohu			θrī	*vohū*
gen.	ašōiš	xratōuš	*ašiuuā̊*	*mańiuuā̊*	gairinąm	vohunąm
abl.	garōiṭ	xrataoṭ	ašibiiă	ahubiiă	gairibiiō	dańhubiiō
dat.	*axtōiiōi*	vaŋhauuĕ				
inst.	*ašī*	*xratū*				
loc.	gara	vaŋhāu	*aŋhuuō*			vaŋhušu	

of the consonant stems. These two inflectional types include a considerable
number of feminine and masculine nouns, as well as adjectives.

Some words belonging to the *i*-stems are Av. f. *aši-* 'reward', m. *axti-* 'pain',
adj. *būiri-* 'abundant', YAv. m. *gairi-* 'mountain', m. *paiti-* 'lord'. Some words
belonging to the *u*-stems are Av. m. *aŋhu-* 'life', m. *pərətu-* 'bridge', m./f. *gauu-*
'bull, cow'; adj. *aidiiu-* 'harmless', m. *xratu-* 'intelligence', m. *gātu-* 'road, way', f.
daxiiu- (YAv. *dańhu-*) 'country', m. *mańiiu-* 'spirit', adj. *vohu-* 'good'. In addition,
some very interesting neuters are present here: *āiiu-* 'life', *dāuru-* 'wood', *zānu-*
'knee'. As for *i*-stems:

Singular: **1. The nom.sg.** shows ZG of the suffix and of the ending in the
regular type, while for *haxa* 'companion' and *kauua* 'Kavi', a hysterodynamic
nom.sg. with LG of the suffix and a zero ending must be reconstructed: **sakhāi̯*
and **kau̯āi̯*. Comparison with the nom.sg. *sákhā* of Skt. shows that the loss
of the final **-i̯* already took place in IIr.—**2. The acc.sg.** has **-i-m* (which
always becomes *-īm*), except in hysterodynamic stems, where the PIE ending
*-oi-m became IIr. **-āi̯am* (by BRUGMANN, §7.4.6), which is attested in OAv.
huš.haxāim (Skt. *sákhāyam*). YAv. *kauuaēm* can be the result of a shortening of
*kau̯āi̯am, i.e., **-āi̯am > *-ai̯am*. On the acc. *raēm*, Skt. *rayím*, cf. 10.1.3.—**3. The
nom./acc.neut.** has a zero ending: *būiri-cā* (Skt. *bhúri*)—**4. The gen.sg.** of IIr. PD
type, **-ai-š*, has sometimes been provided, in YAv., with an analogical *i* on the
stem: *janiiōiš* to **jani-*.—**5. The abl.sg.** (cf. §19.1.6) in *-ōiṭ* is formed off the IIr.
ending **-aiš*, the *-š* of which has been substituted by the *-ṭ* of the abl.—**6. The
dat.sg.** exhbits ablaut variants, following two stem types. One type comes from
*-ai̯-ai̯, and is found as *-ōiiōi* in OAv. *axtōiiōi* (to **axtəi̯əi̯*), and in YAv. as *-ēe*, with
contraction of the final diphthong and loss of the intervocalic *-i̯-*: *frauuašēe* 'for
Fravaši'. The original sequence is more clearly reflected before an enclitic: *nipā-
taiiaēca* 'to protect'. The other type of dat.sg. comes from **-i̯-ai̯*: *paiθe* (to *pati-*)

or *haše* (to *haxai-*), with absorption of the *$\ast\underset{\,}{i}$* by the preceding fricative.—**7. The inst.sg.**, in general, comes out of *$\ast$-i-H*; the HD ending, *$\ast$-i-aH*, is found only in *haša* from *$\ast hax$-$\underset{\,}{i}$-ā*.—**8. The loc.sg.** has a zero ending LG of the suffix; its *$\ast$-ā* corresponds to the Skt. forms in *-ā*, and again attests to the loss of *$\ast\underset{\,}{i}$* in the PIE sequence *$\ast$-ēi̯#/-ōi̯#*.

Dual: **9. The nom./acc./voc.du** in *-i* (*aēθrapaiti*) goes back to IIr. *$\ast$-ī*, though *haxaiia* shows FG in the suffix, which could be based on a LG; cf. Skt. *sákhāyā*.—**10. The nom./acc./voc.neut.du.** likewise shows *$\ast$-ī*: *uši* 'two ears', *aši* 'two eyes'.—**11. The gen.du.** shows the ending *$\ast$-ās* in OAv. *haxtiiā̊*.—**12. The abl./dat./inst.du.** shows the usual *$\ast b^h i\bar{a}$*: *ušibiia* and *ašibiia*.

Plural: **13. The nom./voc.pl.** in *-aiiō* has FG of the suffix and the proper ending for the case, inherited from PIE.—**14. The acc.pl.**, coming from PIE *$\ast$-in-s*, preserves a trace of nasalization of the *$\ast i$* in the ending *-īš*.—**15. The nom./acc./voc.neut.pl.** has an ending *-i* and comes from PIE *$\ast$-i-h$_2$*.—**16. The gen.pl.** has taken *-nąm* as its ending from the *n-stems*, just as was done in Skt., but without lengthening the stem vowel (or rather, shortening it, following §19.1.18?): YAv. *gairinąm* 'from the mountains' versus Skt. *-īnām*. However, there are some forms that reflect the expected PIE ending *$\ast$-i-om*: Av. *kaoiią̇m* from *$\ast kau$-i-ā̇m*, *hašą̇m* from *$\ast saxi̯ā̇m*$ (cf. Lat. *marium*, Gr. πολίων). In Av., the long vowel proper to the *a*-stems has been introduced.—**17. The abl./dat.pl.** ends in the familiar *-biiō*.

As for the *u*-stems: Avestan has regularized the paradigms in favor of the proterodynamic type (cf. §17), though some traces of the old distribution of HD and PD stems, which will be indicated immediately below, still remain. On the neuters, cf. §19.5.39 ff.

Singular: **18. The nom.sg.** has the ending *$\ast$-s*: *xratuš*, *pərətuš*; cf. Skt. *krátuḥ*. The nom.sg. °*bāzāuš* (in compounds) shows a nom. with lengthened grade (HD) < PIE *$\ast \bar{e}u$-š*, in contrast to the simplex *bāzuš*. The nom.sg. of *gauu-* is *gāuš* (Skt. *gáuḥ*).—**19. The voc.sg.** has an ending *-uuō* < IIr. *$\ast$-au*: *ərəzuuō* 'straight', but °*mańiiō* preserves, in all probability, the intermediate stage *-ō*, in virtue of the preceding *ii* (§10.3.4).—**20. The acc.sg.** lengthens the *$\ast u$* before the *-m*: *ahūm*, *dax́iiūm* (cf. Skt. *dásyum*). Forms with FG and LG of the suffix also exist: *dańhaom* to *$\ast dasi̯au̯am*$, *nasāum* < *$\ast nasāu̯am*$. In YAv. texts, *dax́iiūm* and *dańhaom* are used without any apparent semantic distinction.—**21. The nom./acc.neut.** has a zero ending: *vohŭ* (OAv. *vohu-cā*); cf. Skt. *vásu*—**22. The gen.sg.** in IIr., *$\ast$-au-š* (§10.4), takes the form *-əuš* in OAv.: *dax́iiəuš*; meanwhile, in YAv., it takes the form *-aoš*: *rašnaoš*. In some cases, it appears that YAv. forms have been introduced into OAv.: *ərəzaoš*, *paraoš*, *mərəθiiaoš*. Opposite these PD endings, some HD forms in *-uuō* (< *$\ast$-u-as*) are found: YAv. *ərəzuuō*

'finger', *xraθβō, pasuuō, raθβō* (§ 11.14.4). Forms ending in *-āuš* found in YAv. must be considered Gathicisms: *aŋhə̄uš*. HD stems have gradually taken on PD inflection, cf. Skt. *krátoḥ* and *krátvas*. In Skt. the PD type has also been extended.—**23. The abl.sg.** differs from the gen.sg. only in YAv. (cf. § 19.1.6): YAv. *xrataoṯ, da(i)ŋ́haoṯ*—**24. The dat.sg.** has an ending *-auuĕ* (**-au̯-ai̯*): YAv. *da(i)ŋ́hauue*; remnants of HD forms, meanwhile, show an ending *-uuĕ* (**-u̯-ai̯*): YAv. *xraθβe, pərəθβe*. Some sound changes have partially disfigured this ending (§ 11.1.4): OAv. *ahuiiē* (modernization of the YAv.) and YAv. *aŋᵛhe < *ahu̯ai̯*; cf. Skt. *vásave* and *krátve*.—**25. The inst.sg.** has an ending *-ū < PIE *-uh₁: ahū, xratū, vohū (vohu-cā)*. The HD forms have an ending *-uuā̆* (§ 11.14.4) *< IIr. *-u̯aH*: *xraθβā*; cf. Skt. *krátvā, mádhvā* (and *mádhunā*).—**26. The loc.sg.** has a zero ending and shows ablaut in the stem vowel (LG and FG): **-āu* and *-ō, -uuō* (both from IIr. **-au̯*; § 10.3.4): Av. *vaŋhāu, xratā̆* (read *xratāu*; cf. § 7.5.3), YAv. *daiŋ́hō* (and *daiŋ́huuō*), *gātuuō*; cf. Skt. *vásau, krátau*. In addition, forms with the postposition *ā* (§ 16.8) are found: YAv. *daiŋ́hauua, aŋhauua* (*< *-ă̆u̯-a*).

Dual: **27. The nom./acc./voc.du.** of animates has an ending *-ū̆ < IIr. *-uH*: YAv. *daiŋ́hu*; cf. Skt. *mádhū, bāhū̆*. In YAv., the isolated HD ending *-auua* is found: *bāzauua* (Skt. *bāhávā*), *⁺zanauua*.—**28. The nom./acc./voc.neut.du.** terminates in *-uuī̆*: *vaŋᵛhī̆*; cf. Skt. *urvī́* (*jánunī*). An ending *-u*, as in the masc., is not uncommon: *pouru-ca, vohu-ca*.—**29. The gen.du.** comes from **-u̯āh*: OAv. *ahuuā̊*, YAv. *pasuuā̊*.—**30. The abl./dat./inst.du.** comes from **-ubi̯ā: ahubiiā*. The YAv. form *bāzuβe* exhibits fricativization of the *-b-* and the development of final **-i̯ā* to *-e* (§ 7.10.3).—**31. The loc.du.** is attested in OAv. *aŋhuuō* (*ahu-* 'life') *< *ahu̯-au̯*.

Plural: **32. The nom./voc.pl.** continues PIE **-eu̯-es* in the ending *-auuō, -auuas-ca*, while the YAv. forms *daŋ́hāuuō* (OP *dahạyāva*) and *nasāuuō* seem to reflect **ou̯-es*.—**33. The acc.pl.** in *-ūš < *-un-s* reflects nasalization on the vowel: Av. *vaŋhūš, nasūš*. The corresponding HD in **-u̯n̥-s* appears in YAv. *pasuuō* (Skt. *paśváḥ*) and in *pərəθβō* 'crossing, gate, bridge' (from **pr̥tú-*), versus the acc.pl. of the PD type in OAv. *xratūš, pərətūš*. Some forms seem to have adopted the form of the nom.pl.: *pəšauuō* 'bridges' (from **pr̥tu-*), *daŋ́hāuuō*.—**34. The nom./acc./voc.neut.pl.**, seen in OAv. *vohū*, comes from IIr. **u̯asu-H*.—**35. The gen.pl.**, as in *daxiiunąm, vohunąm*, could have retained the *-u-*, in contrast to the ending *-ūnām* of Skt. and OP. The HD form **-u̯-ām* is attested in YAv. *pasu-uąm, vaŋhuuąm*.—**36. The abl./dat.pl.** has restored the **-b-* (e.g., *daŋ́hubiiō*), with the exception of *hinūiβiiō*.—In contrast, the **37. inst.pl.** in **u-bʰiš* shows systematic lenition of the **-b-* (*auuaŋhūĭš < *a-vaŋhu-βĭš, yātuš < *yātuβĭš*, both in Y 12.4) or employs the form of the dat./abl.pl. (*bāzubiiō*). A YAv. form in *-ubĭš* is unknown.—**38. The loc.pl.** has **-u-šu*, which, with the postposition *ā* 'in', gives YAv. *pasuš.huua < *pasušuā* 'among the sheep'.

A few neuter nouns, whose inflection retains interesting remnants of ablaut, must be mentioned as well: *āiiu-* 'life', *dāuru-* 'wood', *zānu-* 'knee'. **39. The nom.sg**. *āiiu*, *dāuru*, °*zānu* shows LG by Brugmann (cf. §7.4.6; cf. Skt. *dā́ru*, *jā́nu*, Gr. δόρυ, γόνυ). YAv. *žnūm* is a secondary form, but it illustrates the ZG of the stem that is also used in compounds.—**40. The gen.sg**. is seen in OAv. *yaoš*, YAv. *draoš* (Skt. *dróḥ* < **dreu̯-s* versus Hom. Gr. δουρός < **deru̯-os*).—**41. The dat.sg**. is OAv. *yauuōi*, *yauuē*.—**42. The inst.sg**. is *yauuā*.—**43. The abl.pl**. is YAv. *žnubiias-ciṯ* (cf. *žn-* in §11.25.4).

§20 The Adjective

Just as in Indo-European, adjectival inflection is not in any way distinct from nominal inflection in Avestan. The Indo-European situation was preserved in Indo-Iranian down into Avestan, with the exception of some innovations in certain adjectives that have been pronominalized (§20.2). The function of the adjective is expressed through its position and agreement in the sentence, as well as by the semantics of its formative suffix.

Regarding gender, it may be noted that the neuter differs from the masculine only in the nom. and acc. cases. The athematic classes usually form the feminine by way of the motion suffix **-ī* < PIE **-ih₂*, while the thematic adjectives are served by *-ā*: *pərəθu-* m., *pərəθβī-* 'broad', versus *paθana-* neut., *paθanā-* f. 'distant, vast'. Thematic adjectives with the motion suffix *-ī* are occasionally found. In those cases, an individualizing value (with substantivization) is discernable: YAv. *apuθra-* m., *apuθrā-* 'without sons', versus *hupuθrī-* 'she who has good sons'.

§20.1 *Degrees of Comparison* (*Gradation*)

Degrees of comparison in the adjective were expressed in the parent language through special suffixes. In the same fashion, Avestan forms comparatives and superlatives with inherited suffixes. Two types of suffixes used to express degree of comparison on adjectives are found.

1. The more archaic type, used for adjectival comparison *stricto sensu*, is formed using a pair of suffixes coming from IIr. **-i̯as-*, for the comparative, and IIr. **-išta-*, for the superlative. These are primary suffixes: both are added directly to the root with FG, i.e., the stem is stripped of its suffix: the comparative of **vah-u-* 'good' is OAv. *vah-iiah-* (cf. Gr. ἡδύς: ἡδ-ίων ἥδ-ιστος). This kind of adjectival comparison ceased to be productive in the Avestan period.

Examples: *uɣra-* 'strong' gives *aojiiah- aojišta-*; *kasu-* 'small' gives *kasiiah-kasišta-*; *mazaṇt-* 'large' gives *maziiah- mazišta-*; *vaŋhu-* 'good' gives OAv. *vahiiah-* (YAv. *vaŋhah-*) *vahišta-*; *srīra-* 'beautiful' gives *sraiiah- sraēšta-*.

2. The second type is formed using a pair of secondary suffixes coming from IIr. *-tara- and *-tama- (cf. Gr. πρέσβυς: πρεσβύ-τερος πρεσβύ-τατος), the origin of which seems to lie in formations having oppositional or contrastive function. In effect, the PIE suffix *-tero- served to express the notion of a binary opposition, first with adverbs and pronouns: cf. Gr. πρότερον 'before', Skt. *úttara-* 'above', Skt. *katará-* and Gr. πότερος 'which (of two)?'. Later, the use of this suffix was extended to other nominal classes as well. In the same fashion, the suffix *-tama was also first used with adverbs, cf. Skt. *ántama-* 'that which is nearest', Lat. *intimus*, Skt. *katamá-* 'which (of several)?'.

This second type of of adjectival comparison is the only one that has continued to be productive beyond Proto-Avestan. The suffixes are appended to the stem (i.e., they are secondary), and are even found attached to compounds: *aš.aojastara-* 'stronger', from *aš.aojah-* 'with much force'; *vərəθrają̄stəma-* 'most victorious' (from *vərəθra-jan-* 'destroying the obstacle').

§ 20.2 *Pronominalized Adjectives*

The semantic proximity of some adjectives to the pronouns induced these adjectives to partially adopt some endings from the pronouns. This phenomenon is not unknown in other Indo-European languages: cf. Lat. gen.sg. *ullīus*, dat.sg. *ullī*. This formal reshaping must have taken place already in part during the Indo-Iranian period, judging from various forms of the m./n. plural of *a*-stems (cf. § 19.1), such as IIr. *-aįbʰįas and *-aįšu, with correspondents in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. Beyond these forms, this phenomenon is found to be much less extensive in Avestan than in Sanskrit.

The forms that we find are as follows: **dat.sg.m/n**. YAv. *ańiiahmāi* 'for the other' (Skt. *anyásmai*); *vīspəmāi* 'for all', and YAv. ⁺*vīspə̄m̨āi* (§§ 5.2.5, 7.9.2; Skt. *víśvasmai*; the nominal form *vīspāi* is also found); the **nom.pl.m.** YAv. *ańiie* (Skt. *anyé*), *vīspe* (Skt. *víśve*), versus OAv. *vīspå̄ŋhō*; the **gen.pl**. YAv. *ańiiaēšą̄m* (Skt. *anyéṣām*), YAv. *vīspaēšą̄m* (Skt. *víśveṣām*), versus Av. *vīspanąm*. Some pronominalized forms of the numeral *aēuua-* 'one' are likewise evident: loc.sg.m. *aēuuahmi* (see Skt. *ékasmin*), gen.sg.f. *aēuuaŋ́hå̄* (see Skt. *ékasyās*).

TABLE 11   *Numerals*

Cardinals		Ordinals	Cardinals		Ordinals
aēuua-	'1'	fratəma-; paoiriia-	duua.dasa	'12'	duuadasa-
duua-	'2'	*daibitiia*-; bitiia-	vīsaiti-	'20'	vīsąstəma-
θri-, tišr-	'3'	θritiia-	θrisąsas, θrisat-	'30'	
caθβar-, cataŋr-	'4'	tūiriia-	caθβarəsat-	'40'	
paṇca	'5'	puxδa-	paṇcāsat-	'50'	
xšuuaš	'6'	xštuua-	xšuuašti-	'60'	
hapta	'7'	haptaθa-	haptāiti-	'70'	
ašta	'8'	aštəma-	aštāiti-	'80'	
nauua	'9'	naoma-	nauuaiti-	'90'	
dasa	'10'	dasəma-	sata-	'100'	satōtəma-

§ 21   Numerals

§ 21.1   *Cardinal Numbers*

The numbers '1' through '4' have a full nominal inflection in case and gender, but inflection for number depends on the numeral involved: '1' inflects in the singular, '2' in the dual, while '3' and '4' inflect in the plural. The numbers '5' to '19' are indeclinable, and all following numbers are inflected depending upon their respective stems.

'1' is *aēuua-* (OP *aiva-*, Gr. οἶϝος 'alone'), and differs in suffix from Skt. *éka-* (from **aika-*; Mittani *aika°*), though it is found in the Skt. adv. *evá(m)* 'indeed' < PIE **oi̯-u̯o* 'just that', on which the Av. form rests. The numeral *aēuua-* is declined as an *a*-stem, although some pronominal forms occur (§ 20.2). One form that calls for comment is the acc.sg. *ōiium̐*, which is the regular reflex of IIr. **ai̯u̯am* by way of **əi̯u̯əm > *əi̯u̯um > *əi̯um*. In some texts, the simplified variants *ōim* and *ōīm* can be found.

'2' is *duua-* (Skt. *dᵤvā́* Gr. δύο) and also OAv. *uba-*, YAv. *uua-* 'the two, both' (Skt. *ubhā́*, OP *ubā*, OCS *oba*; with a nasal, Gr. ἄμφω, Lat. *ambō*). Both stems agree in their inflection with the dual of an *a*-stem (cf. § 19.1): nom.acc.m. *duua*, *uua*[7] (OP *ubā*, Skt. *ubhā́*); nom.acc.neut./f. OAv. *ubē*, YAv. *duiie*, *duuaēca*, *uiie*

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7   This is the only Av. form with initial *uu-*, because **u̯-* always becomes *v-* (§ 11.1.2). The manuscripts often show *va, vā, auua*.

(Skt. *ubhé*; cf. § 10.2.3); inst.dat.abl.m. OAv. *ubōibiiā*, YAv. *duuaēibiia* (Skt. *dvábhyām*), *uuaēibiia* (Skt. *ubhábhyām*); gen.m. *duuaiiā̊, uuaiiā̊*; loc.m. OAv. *ubōiiō*, YAv. ⁺*uuaiiō* (Skt. *ubháyoḥ*).

'**3**' has a stem *θri-* for the masculine and neuter, but *tišr-* for the feminine, just as with Skt. *tri-* and *tisr-*. This divison goes back to PIE, to judge from OIr. *téoir* < *tisres*. In the other IE languages, the feminine stem is completely lost. The forms attested in Avestan are: nom.m. *θrāiiō, θraiias-ca* (Skt. *tráyas*; note the *ā* of the Av. versus the short *a* of the Skt. Perhaps Av. has taken this *ā* from the number '4'). The acc.m. *θrīš* (Skt. *trī́n*) derives from PIE *trins*. The YAv. nom.acc.neut. *θrī* (cf. § 7.2.; Skt. *trī́*) derives from PIE *tri-h₂*. The inst.m. is *θribiiō* (Skt. inst. *tribhíḥ*, dat. *tribhyás*). The gen.m. exhibits two forms, *θraiiąm* and *θriiąm*, though it is difficult to know which is the original, given that Skt. *trīṇ́ām* offers no help. The feminine possesses a nom. *θrāiiō* (originally masc.), the acc. *tišrō* (Skt. *tisrás*) and the gen. *tišrąm*.

'**4**' possesses two stems that depend upon gender. The masculine and neuter are formed from a stem *caθβar-/catur-*, while the feminine is built to a stem *cataŋr-*. The nom.masc. is *caθβārō*, with *ā* resulting from BRUGMANN (§ 7.4.6), just like Skt. *catvā́ras*; with an enclitic, a shortened vowel is found, thus *caθβaras-ca*, following § 7.3.1. The acc.m. *caturā̄* shows an ending introduced from the thematic nouns in *-a* (Skt. *catúras*). The same has happened with the nom.acc.neut. *catura*, but not with the gen. *caturąm*. The feminine of '4' also carried a formant *-sr-, like that of '3', whence YAv. acc. *cataŋrō* from IIr. *čátasras* (Skt. *cátasras*). As was already mentioned above, these forms can go back to PIE, to judge from the OIr. continuant *cethéoir* < *kᵘetesr-*.

The cardinal numbers '**5**' through '**19**' were originally indeclinable, but there are nevertheless forms of the gen. attested for '5', '9', and '10': *paṇcanąm* (Skt. *pañcānā́m*), *nauuanąm* (Skt. *navānā́m*), *dasanąm*. The form *paṇcā-ca* in *paṇcāca vīsaiti-* '25' has secondary *ā* (cf. § 16.1.2) opposite the regular *nauuaca nauuaiti-* '99'. These forms correspond exactly to their Skt. equivalents. Note that the initial *x-* in *xšuuaš* '6' results from the secondary prothesis of *x-* onto an initial cluster of *š* plus consonant (cf. § 11.16). Of the numbers from '**11**' to '**19**', only *duuadasa* '12' and *paṇcadasa* '15' are attested as cardinal numbers; the rest appear only as ordinals.

The decads inflect as follows: the decads from '**20**' to '**50**' behave as *-ant-* stems, while those from '**60**' to '**90**' are abstracts in *-ti*. '**20**' corresponds to Skt. *viṃśati-* (with secondary nasal), from *vi-ćati-* < PIE *dui-dḱm̥t-i* 'two decads'. For '**30**', we have the nom.m. *θrisąs*, which continues the PIE form *tri(h₂)-dḱomt-* (Gr. τριάκοντα, OIr. *tricho*), the nom.acc.neut. *θrisatəm*, and the gen. *θrisatanąm*, which point to a secondary thematization of the oblique stem *θrisat-*, retained in *θrisaθβaṇt-* '30 times'. Another athematic form occurs in

paṇcāsaṭbīš-ca, the inst. of '**50**', the long *ā* of which calls for comment. Both this form and Skt. *pañcā-śát* show lengthening of an **e* following the loss of a preconsonantal **d*, proceeding from PIE **penkʷe-dḱm̥t-*. The long vowel of *haptāiti-* and *aštāiti-*, which the Skt. forms *saptatí-* and *aśītí-* lack, may be due to the form of '80', if it was built off the simplex '8' (Gr. ὀϰτώ; PIE **h₃eḱtoh_x*), i.e., from IIr. **aćtaH-ti-*.

The numbers *sata-* 'hundred' and *hazaṇra-* 'thousand' inflect as *a*-stems, but *baēuuarə* 'ten thousand' inflects as a neuter *r/n*-stem. Av. *sata-* is equivalent to Skt. *śata-* and to forms in other IE languages that allow for the reconstruction of a PIE **ḱm̥tó-* from **dḱm̥t-ó-* '(the) tenth (decad)'. It is notable that a form for '1000' cannot be reconstructed for PIE, but Av. *hazaṇra-*, as well as Skt. *sahásra-*, do contain an IIr. element **-źʰasra-* < PIE **sm̥-ǵʰeslo-* (cf. Lat. *mīlle* < **smih₂-ǵʰeslih₂*), which can be compared with Gr. (Ionic) χείλιοι, (Aeolic) χέλλιοι 'thousand' < **ǵʰesli̯o-*.

§21.2   *Ordinal Numbers*

For '**first**', *fratəma-*, the original sense of which was 'the foremost' (cf. Skt. *prathamá-*), and which was a superlative to *fra* 'forth, in front', is used. 'First' in the temporal sense was **pr̥Huá-* in IIr. (derived from PIE **pr̥h₂ós* 'before'); cf. Skt. *pū́rva-*, Av. *pauruua-* 'previous'. The suffix **-i̯a-* was added to this stem already in (Proto)-Iranian: **pr̥Hui̯a-*, which results in Av. *paoiriia-* (cf. §8.2).

'**Second**' was IIr. **dui̯-ti̯a-*, which gave OAv. /dbitiia-/, written *daibitiia-* (§11.13), and, with loss of *d-*, YAv. *bitiia-*; cf. Skt. *dvitíya-* The same formation is encountered in *θritiia-* '**third**', starting from a stem *θrita-* (cf. Gr. τρίτος; a different stem in Skt. *tr̥tī́ya-*), which is also found in names. The Av. form *tūiriia-* '**fourth**' < IIr. **ktur-(ī)i̯a-* < PIE **kʷtur°*, with ZG of the root, had already lost the **k-* in IIr. times, judging from Skt. *turī́ya-*, but the *k-* is retained in Av. *āxtūirī́m* 'four times' < **ā-kturī́i̯am*. Av. *puxδa-* '**fifth**' seems to be a product of an earlier **paxθa-* (Skt. *pakthá-*), also with ZG in contrast to *paṇca* '5', which would have taken the *-u-* from **turi̯a-* 'fourth' and from a supposed **xšušta-* '**sixth**', the actually attested form of which, *xštuua-*, lacks a definitive explanation.

The ordinals from '**seventh**' to '**tenth**' correspond exactly to their respective forms in Skt., and exhibit incipient generalization of the IIr. suffix **-má-* < PIE **-mó-*, which would become very productive in the later Iranian languages: '7th': Av. *haptaθa-* (Skt. *saptátha-*); '8th': YAv. *aštəma-* (Skt. *aṣṭamá-*); '9th': YAv. *naoma-* (Skt. *navamá-*); '10th': Av. *dasəma-* (Skt. *daśamá-*). Meanwhile, 'eleventh' to 'nineteenth' are formed with the same simple thematic inflection of the cardinal numbers, thus *aēuuaṇdasa-* '11th', *duuadasa-* '12th', *θridasa-* '13th', *caθrudasa-* '14th', etc. The form *vīsqstəma-* '**twentieth**' apparently substitutes an earlier **vīsastəma-* (from *vīsat-tama*, cf. §11.20.2), which already

shows the suffix *-tama-, used also in satōtəma- **'hundredth'** and hazaŋrōtəma-
'thousandth'.

The form of the acc.sg.neut. of ordinals can serve as a temporal adverb, thus
paoirīm 'for the first time' or 'firstly', bitīm 'for the second time', though the
dat.sg.neut. is also used for this expression, thus paoiriiāi, bitiiāi.

§ 21.3 *Multiplicatives*

For 'once', hakərət, a form identical to Skt. sakŕt, is used. In both forms, the prefix
sa- reflects *sm̥- (ZG of PIE *sem- 'one, united', cf. Gr. ἅ-παξ 'once', εἷς 'one').
Other multiplicatives are built by adding a suffix -s after the stem in the ZG:
biš 'twice', θriš 'thrice', caθruš 'four times', and xšuuaš 'six times'. For numbers
greater than 'six', adjectives with a suffix *-u̯ant- are formed, thus vīsaitiuuaṇt-
'twenty times', θrisaθβaṇt- 'thirty times', etc. It seems that this same suffix was
likewise used for the forms found in late texts, bižuuaṯ 'twice' and θrižuuaṯ
'thrice', from biš and θriš.

§ 21.4 *Fractions*

'Half' is expressed by arəða- (Skt. ardhá-) or naēma- (Skt. néma-). For the
formation of other fractions, a suffix *-su̯a-, which is attested in Avestan and
Old Persian, comes into play. This suffix developed from a metanalysis *°s-u̯a-,
beginning from 'one third' and 'one fourth': θrišuua- neut. 'one third' (OP
*çišuva-) < *tríś-u̯a-, cf. Gr. θρῖον 'fig leaf', and neut. θrižaṇt- 'id.' is also found;
caθrušuua- 'one fourth' (OP *çaçušuva-) < *catruš-u̯a-; the form paṇtaŋhuua-
'one fifth' is unexpected in comparison to OP *pančauva- < *panca-hu̯a-; we also
find haptaŋhuua- 'one seventh' and aštaŋhuua- 'one eighth' (OP *aštauva-).

§ 22 **Pronouns**

Already in the reconstructed proto-language, the pronominal inflection was
characterized by a set of its own case endings, distinct from those belonging
to the inflection of nouns and adjectives. Suppletion is likewise very common
in the inflection of pronouns, i.e., distinct stems co-occur within one and the
same paradigm. In Avestan, like in the rest of the Indo-European languages,
the pronominal inflection has preserved some peculiar features, but analog-
ical interchange and mutual influence between the nominal and pronomi-
nal inflections are observable already from the oldest period (cf. §§ 19.1.19,
20.2).

In Table 12, the (Proto-Ir.) endings from which one must proceed in order to
explain the majority of the Avestan forms are given. Where it is not possible to

TABLE 12   *The pronominal endings in their Proto-Iranian form*

	Singular			Dual		Plural		
	masc./neut.		fem.	masc./neut.	fem.	masc./neut.		fem.
nom.	*-∅, *-h, *-š	*-t	*-∅, *-H, *-aị̑	*-H	*-aị̑	*-aị̑	*-H	*-āh
acc.	-(a)m		*-ām			*-anh		
gen.	*-hịa		*-hịāh	*-ịāh		*-aị̑šām		*-āhām
abl.	*-hmāt		*-hịāt			*-aị̑bịah		*-ābịah
dat.	*-hmāị̑		*-hịāị̑					
inst.	*-nā, *-ā		*-ịǎ	*-ibịā		*-aị̑š, *-aị̑biš		*-ābiš
loc.	*-hmi		*-hịā			-aị̑šu		*-āhu

abstract a concrete morpheme from the evidence, the box in the table has been left empty. The personal pronouns must be considered separately.

§ 22.1 *Personal Pronouns*

Personal pronouns are characterized by suppletion and lack of grammatical gender from the Indo-European period forward. In Table 13, the attested forms of both stressed and enclitic personal pronouns are given.

N.B. for *accented pronouns*:

1. The **1st.sg.** has a nom.sg. *azə̄m*, which agrees with Skt. *ahám* and OP *adam*. A hapax *as-cī̆t*, of doubtful interpretation, is also known. The rest of the forms are built from a stem **ma-*: YAv. acc. *mąm* (OP *mām*, Skt. *mā́m*); the abl. **-d* (Skt. *mád*); the gen. **-na* (OP *manā*, OCS *mene*); the dat. **-bʰịa* (cf. Skt. *máhyam*); YAv. *māuuōiia* < **maθiia*, cf. § 7.4.2, 9.2.4, 11.1.4. The form *maibiiō*, with -*ō* instead of -*ā*, is due to the influence of pronominal dat.pl. forms in -*biiō*, such as *aēibiiō* and *yaēibiiō* (cf. 22.2, f.)

2. The **2nd.sg.** uses the stems **ta-* and **tu̯a-*, but the nom. shows old **tuH* > Av. *tū* alongside **tuH-am* (OP *tuvam*, Skt. *tvám*), an innovation based on the latter part of *azəm* 'I'. Cf. further *vaēm* 'we' < **u̯aị̑-am* (cf. Goth. *weis*) and *yūžəm* 'you (pl.)' (cf. Goth. *jūs*).

3. The **1st.du.** *vā* (Skt. *vā́m*) is of the same stem as the nom.pl. *vaēm*. In the **1st.pl.**, a suppletive stem **asma-* is used (§ 22.1.5). A curious feature of this inflection is that, except in the nom. and gen., the cases of the sg. and the pl. are built with the same endings, availing themselves of suppletion in the stem to convey the difference in number: cf. dat. *maibiiā*: *ahmaibiiā* (cf. Skt. *máhyam*: *asmábhyam*), etc. For the **2nd.du.**, we have *yauuākəm* (cf Skt. *yuvā́ku*). Cf. further the Skt. forms nom. *yuvám*, acc. *yuvā́m*, gen. *yuvóḥ*.

TABLE 13   *Personal pronouns*

	1st Accented	Enclitic	2nd Accented	Enclitic
nom.sg.	*azə̄m*, azəm *ascīṯ*		*tuuə̄m*, tūm; tū	
acc.sg.	mąm	mā	θβąm	θβā
gen.sg.	*mə̄.nā*, mana	*mōi*, mē	*tauuā*, tauua	*tōi*, tē
abl.sg.	*maṯ*?		θβaṯ	
dat.sg.	*maibiiā, maibiiō, māuuōiia*	*mōi*, mē	*taibiiā, taibiiō*	*tōi*, tē
inst.sg.			θβā	
nom.du.	*vā*			
acc.du.	*ə̄əāuuā*?			
gen.du		nā	yauuākəm	
nom.pl.	vaēm		*yūžə̄m*, yūžəm; *yūš*	
acc.pl.	*ə̄hmā*, ahma	*nə̊*, nō		*və̊*, vō
gen.pl.	ahmākəm	*nə̄*, nō	*xšmākəm*; yūšmākəm	*və̄*, vō
abl.pl.	*ahmaṯ*		*xšmaṯ*; yūšmaṯ	
dat.pl.	*ahmaibiiā*	*nə̄*, nō	*xšmaibiiā*, xšmāuuōiia	*və̄*, vō
inst.pl.	*ə̄hmā*		*xšmā*	

4. The **2nd.pl**. OAv. *yūžə̄m*, YAv. *yūžəm* (cf. Skt. *yūyám*) has an unexpected *ž* (from external sandhi of **yūš-am*? § 11.25.1). The oblique forms make use of the stems *xšma-* and *yūšma-*. An IIr. stem **ušma-* (cf. Aeolic Gr. acc. ὔμμε) underlies both of these stems. The variant *xšma-* is explicable through loss of the *u-* > **šma-* and subsequent prothesis of *x-* (cf. § 11.16). The variant *yūšma-* is due to influence from the nom. *yūš*. Cf. dat. OAv. *xšmaibiiā* and *yūšmaibiiā* versus Skt. *yuṣmábhyam*.

N.B. for *enclitics* (unaccented pronouns):

5. The **1st**. *Singular*: in the acc., *mā* is identical to Skt. *mā*. The oblique enclitic (gen.dat.) is OAv. *mōi*, YAv. *mē* (OP *-maiy*, Skt. *me*).—*Plural*: the stem *na-* is used in the dual and plural, and it is also contained in the stem **asma-* < PIE **n̥sme-*. In OAv., distinct forms exist for the acc.pl., *nə̊* (Lat. *nōs*), and the oblique cases, *nə̄* (cf. Lat. *nŏs-trum*), in contrast to the single case form of YAv., *nō* (and of Skt. *nas*).

The **2nd**. *Singular*: in the acc., Av. θβā is identical to Skt. *tvā*. The oblique enclitic (gen.dat.) is OAv. *tōi*, YAv. *tē* (OP *-taiy*, Skt. *te*).—*Plural*: In the plural, the stem *va-* is used. In OAv., distinct forms exist for the acc.pl., *və̊* (Lat. *uōs*),

and the oblique cases, *vā* (cf. Lat. *uŏs-trum*), in contrast to the single case form of YAv., *vō* (and of Skt. *vas*).

6. For the enclitics of the **3rd** person, some forms of the old demonstrative pronoun *a-/i-*, which were substituted by the stem *ima* (§ 22.2), are used: acc.sg.m.f. *īm* (Skt. *īm*, Cypriot Gr. ἴν?); acc.sg.neut. OAv. *ī̆ṯ*, YAv. *iṯ* (cf. the Skt. particle *ít*); acc.pl.m.f. *ī̆š*; acc.pl.neut. *ī*. Some YAv. forms with initial *d-* must have originated in sandhi with a preceding dental (e.g., **yad im*): acc.sg.m.f. *dim* (OP *-dim*); acc.sg.neut. *diṯ*; acc.pl.m.f. *dī̆š* (OP *-dī̆š*); acc.pl.neut. *dī*.

Other forms took an **s-* by analogy to the paradigm of *sa-*, *ta-*. Accented froms are nom.sg.f. OAv. *hī* and nom.du.neut. OAv. *hī*. Enclitic forms are acc.sg.f. Av. *hīm* (OP *-šim*, Skt. *sīm*), acc.pl.m.f. Av. *hī̆š* (cf. OP *-šī̆š*) and the gen.dat.sg. OAv. *hōi*, YAv. *hē*, *šē* (cf. OP *-šaiy*). At times, variation between *h-* and *š-* occurs, which is explicable as the result of RUKI in external sandhi: *pairi šē* but *aṯca hē*.[8]

7. The accented **reflexive** pronoun has adopted the stem **su̯a-* from the possessive pron. In Av., only the following forms are attested: gen. *xᵛahe*; dat.sg. YAv. *huu̯āuu̯ōiia* (from **hu̯aβi̯a*, cf. *māuu̯ōiia* above § 22.1.1) and YAv. *xᵛāi*.

§ 22.2 *Demonstrative Pronouns*

1. *a-/i-/ima-* 'this'. This pronoun, of anaphoric origin, combines stems deriving from PIE **h₁ei̯-/*h₁i-* and **h₁e-* (cf. Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*) in a suppletive pattern. The **nom.sg.m.** comes from **ai̯am* > Skt. *ayám* (cf. OP *iyam*)—The **acc.sg.m.** arises from an IIr. innovation in which the old form **im* (Lat. *im*) was "accusativized" by adding the ending **-am*—The **nom.acc.sg.neut.** *imaṯ* (cf. OP *ima*) replaces the **-m* of the new form with the *-ṯ* of the neuter pronouns. Starting from the two preceding case forms, it became possible to extract a stem *ima-*, from which the rest of the direct cases of the masc., neut., and fem. with thematic endings emerged.

The oblique cases are built off the stem *a-*: the **gen.sg.m.** comes from **asi̯a* > Skt. *asya*;[9] the **gen.du.m.** *a-ii̯å* (cf. Skt. *ayóḥ*; § 19.1.12); the **inst.pl.m.** *āiš*; the **abl.dat.** and **loc.sg.m.** make use of a formant **-sm-*. The **inst.sg.m.** from **anā* (OP *anā*; cf. Skt. *enā́*) is built with the stem *ana-* (cf. below § 22.2.4).—The feminine forms of the **gen.abl.sg.** come from **asi̯ās* > Skt. *asyā́s*; (the form *aṇhāṯ*

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8 In YAv., however, this old distribution is often disrupted. Old Persian, which maintains the use of the 3rd person enclitic, offers only variants with *-š-*.

9 *ahe* is used attributively and anaphorically, while *ańhe* is only found in anaphoric use. *ahe* probably represents the original development (cf. the gen.sg. of the *a*-stems), whereas *ańhe* introduced *-ńh-* from the fem. pronouns.

TABLE 14   *The demonstrative pronoun* a-/i-/ima-

1. *a-/i-/ima-* 'this'	Masculine, Neuter	Feminine
nom. **sg.**	*aiiə̄m*, aēm	īm
acc.	iməm	imąm
nom.acc.neut.	imaṱ	
gen.	*ahiiā, ax́iiāca*, ahe, ańhe	ańhā̊, ańhā̊sca
abl.	ahmāṱ	ańhā̊; ańhāṱ
dat.	ahmāi	*ax́iiāi*, ańhāi
inst.	*anā*, ana	*ōiiā*, aiia
loc.	*ahmī*, ahmi, ahmiia	ańhe
nom.m. **du.**	ima	
gen.	aiiā̊; *ā̊scā*	
dat.	ābiia	*ābiiā*
nom.m. **pl.**	ime	imā̊
acc.m.	imą	imā̊
nom.acc.neut.	*imā*, ima, imā̊	
gen.	aēšąm	ā̊ŋhąm
dat.	aēibiiō	*ābiiascā*, ābiiō, aiβiiasca
inst.	*āiš*; aēibiš	*ābīš*
loc.	aēšu, aēšuua	*āhū*, āhuua

shows the late substitution of *-s* by *-t*); the **dat.sg.** from **asi̯āi̯* > Skt. *asyái*; the **loc.sg.** is from **asi̯ā* (cf. Skt. *asyám*). The **inst.sg.f.** from **ai̯ā* (Skt. *ayā́*) is an exception in that it does not contain an *-s-*. There is also a form f. *āiia*, which owes its long vowel to the preceding **i̯* in *paiti āiia zəmā* 'on this earth'.

In the plural, the m./n. oblique cases are built off a stem **ai̯-*, which recalls the nom.m. **ai̯-am*, just like the stems *aēta-* and *aēuua-* (see below). The oblique cases of the fem.pl. are formed starting from an unexpected stem *ā-*, which probably derives from the inflection of the pronouns *ta-*, *ka-*, and *ya-*. Note the ending **-sām* of the gen.pl., versus PIE **-som* as reflected in Lat. *eō-rum*, *eā-rum*, and OCS *tě̌xъ* 'of these'.

2. *ta-* 'that', **3.** *aēta-* 'that there'. The first of these pronouns continues the old demonstrative. Its paradigm conforms to the usual pattern of suppletion. The nom.sg. was suppletive even in PIE, m. **só*, neut. **tód*, f. **séh₂* > Av. *hā, taṱ, hā* (Skt. *sá, tát, sā́*; Goth. *sa, þata, so*; Gr. ὁ, τό, ἡ). The nom.sg.m. attests to a sigmatic variant, OAv. *hā*, YAv. *hō, has-ciṱ*. The stem takes thematic inflection in the direct cases, as well as in the forms of the inst. Apart from the inst., there are

TABLE 15   *The demonstrative pronouns* ta-*,* aēta-

2. *ta*- 'that', 3. *aēta*- 'that there'	Masculine, Neuter	Feminine
nom. **sg.**	hā; *hə̄*, hō, hasciṯ; aēša; aēšō	hā; aēšā
acc.	*tə̄m*, təm	tąm; aētąm
nom.acc.neut.	taṯ; aētaṯ	
gen.	aētahe	aētaŋ́hā̊; aētaiiā̊
abl.	aētahmāṯ	
dat.	aētahmāi	
inst.	tā; aēta	aētaiia
loc.	aētahmi, aētahmiia	
nom.acc. **du.**	tā, tāca	
nom.acc.neut.	tē; aēte	
gen.	aētaiiā̊	
nom. **pl.**	*tōi*, *taēcīṯ*, tē; aēte, aētaēca	tā̊, tā̊sciṯ; aētå̄sə.tē
acc.	*tə̄ṇg*, tą tā; aētə̄, aētą	tā̊, *tå̄scā*; aētā̊
nom.acc.neut.	tā; aēta, aētāciṯ	
gen.	aētaēšąm	aētaŋhąm
dat.	aētaēibiiō	aētābiiō
inst.	*tāiš*	
loc.	aētaēšu, aētaēšuua	

no oblique forms attested to the stem *ta*-. Instead, the stem *aēta*- appears, which has a complete inflection apart from the suppletive nom.sg., which comes from m. **ai̯ša* (Skt. *eṣá*), f. **ai̯šā* (Skt. *eṣā́*).

The inflection of these pronouns follows that already seen under § 22.2.1, 22.5.2, i.e., through the insertion of typically pronominal elements such as **-sm*- in the oblique cases of the masc., or **-ai̯*- and **-ā* in the oblique cases of the masc./fem.pl. There are some forms worthy of note: the gen.pl.fem. *aētaŋhąm* shows shortening of the **-ā*- (Skt. *etā́sām*); the gen.sg.fem. *aētaŋ́hā̊* is equivalent to Skt. *etásyas*, while *aētaiiā̊* and *aētaiiā̊sciṯ* owe their endings to the influence of feminines in *-ā* (§ 19.2.4).

The fact that no forms of *aēta*- are found attested in OAv. may be mere coincidence, but the total absence of oblique forms of *ta*- in YAv. (except in the inst.) is probably an innovation of YAv., in which *ta*- was replaced by *aēta*-.

4. *ana*- 'this' is a suppletive stem in Avestan that is found attested in other languages: OCS *onъ* 'that there', Lith. *anàs* 'that' < PIE **h₁ono*-, which has left

traces in IIr.: cf. the Skt. adv. *anā́* 'therefore' (inst.sg.neut.), *anayā* (inst.sg.f.). Avestan attests to OAv. inst.sg.m. *anā* (OP *anā*; Skt. *anā́*); inst.pl.m.neut. *anāiš*; gen.sg.m. *⁺anahe*; abl.sg.m. *anahmāṯ*; and the inst.sg.m.neut. *ana*.

5. The stem of the demonstrative *auua-* 'that there' may be compared with the Skt. gen.du. *avóḥ* (OP *ava*, and also OCS *ovъ* 'this' < PIE **h₂euo-*). The Avestan paradigm possesses a nom.sg.m., OAv. *huuō* (**hau̯*; cf. §10.3.4) and YAv. *hāu*, which is, in origin, a fem. form also attested as a nom.sg.fem. YAv. *hāu*, made from a supplementary stem comparable to the Skt. nom.sg.m.f. *asáu* 'that there' or OP *hauv*. The other case forms allow for derivation from the stem *auua-*, with its already familiar pronominal endings: nom.acc.sg.neut. *auuaṯ* (OP *ava*); acc.sg.m. *aom* (OP *avam*); gen.sg.m.neut. *auuańhe* and *auuaheca* (OP *avahayā*); inst.sg.m. OAv. *auuā*, YAv. *auua*, nom.pl.m. *auue* (OP *avaiy*); acc.pl.m. *⁺auuā*; nom.acc.pl.neut. *auua* and *auuā̊* (cf. §19.1.17); gen.pl.m. *auuaēšąm* (OP *avaišām*); inst.pl.m. *auuāiš*; acc.sg.f. *auuąm* (OP *avām*); gen.sg.f. *auuańhā̊*; abl.sg.f. *auuańhāṯ*; dat.sg.f. *auuaŋhāi*; acc.pl.f. *auuā̊* and *auuaŋhā̊* (in a late text); inst.pl.f. *auuabiiō* (*-*ābiiō*).

§ 22.3 *Relative Pronoun*

The relative pronoun *ya-* 'which, who' (Skt. *yá-*, Gr. ὅς < PIE *[*h₁*]*i̯ó-*) follows the same inflection as the pronominal stem *ta-*, *aēta-*, etc. seen above, for which reason the enumeration of all the forms here would be superfluous. Keep in mind that the initial *y-*, in combination with *-*i̯-* in the following syllable results in raising of the -*a-* (§7.10), and one therefore finds gen.sg. OAv. *yehiiā*, *yeẋiiācā*, YAv. *yeńhe* (Skt. *yásya*); gen.sg.f. *yeńhā̊* (Skt. *yásyās*); abl.sg.f. *yeńhāṯ*, *yeńhāδ-a*; loc.sg.f. *yeńhe* (v.l. with *ŋh*). Curious are the nom.pl.m. YAv. *yōi* (Skt. *yé*), which did not develop to *⁺yē* (cf. §10.2.2), and the nom.acc.sg.neut. OAv. *hiiaṯ* (versus YAv. *yaṯ*; Skt. *yát*), which may be the result of external sandhi: *°h yaṯ*. On the other hand, the acc.pl.m. form OAv. *yōŋgs-tū* 'which you' apparently arose from a blending of the regular forms, OAv. *yōŋg* and *yąs°* (cf. Skt. *yā́n*, *yā́ṃś ca*).

§ 22.4 *Possessive Pronouns*

The possessive pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons are attested in OAv. alone, while the gen. of the corresponding personal pronouns assumes the functions of the possessive in YAv. Various formations co-occur in the possessive pronouns, as will be seen below.

Singular: The **1st** person is formed in OAv. with a stem *ma-* 'my' (Gr. ἐμός < PIE **h₁mo-*): nom.sg.m. *mō* (§7.9.4); gen.sg.neut. *mahiiā*; dat.sg.neut. *mahmāi*; inst.sg.neut. *mā*; loc.sg. *mahmī*; nom.acc.pl.neut. *mā*; inst.sg.f. *maiiā*; gen.sg.f. *maẋiiā̊* (*ẋ* cf. §11.28).

The **2nd** person is formed in OAv. with a stem *θβa-* 'your' (Skt. *tvá-*, Lat. *tuus*, Gr. σός): nom.sg.m. *θβə̄*; gen.sg.m *θβahiiā*; abl.sg.m. *θβahmāṯ*; dat.sg.m. *θβahmāi*; inst.sg.m.neut. *θβā*; loc.sg.m. *θβahmī*; nom.pl.m. *θβōi*; nom.acc.pl. neut. *θβā*; nom.sg.f. *θβōi*; gen.sg.f. *θβax̌iiā̊*; loc.pl.f. *θβāhū*.

Plural: The **1st** person is formed with the stem *ahmāka-* 'our' (Skt. *asmā́ka-*): nom.acc.sg.neut. *ahmākəm*; acc.pl.m. *ahmākə̄ṇg*; inst.pl.m. *ahmākāiš*. For the **2nd** person, two familiar variants (already commented upon in §22.1.4) are found: *xšmāka-* (with the acc.sg.m. *xšmākəm*; nom.acc.sg.neut *xšmākəm*; gen.sg.m *xšmākahiiā*; dat.sg.m. *xšmākāi*; inst.sg.m. *xšmākā*; acc.sg.f. *xšmākąm*) and *yūšmāka-* (with the acc.sg.m. *yūšmākəm*; gen.sg.m. *yūšmākahiiā*; dat.sg.m. *yūšmākāi*).

Concerning the pronominal stems OAv./YAv. *xᵛa-* and YAv. *hauua-*, the FG in *hauua-* may have been introduced from the pers. and dem.pron. in **ha-*. As regards its inflection, *xᵛa-* follows the pronominal type (e.g., loc.sg.m. YAv. *xᵛahmi* (cf. Skt. *svásmin*)), while *hauua-* follows the thematic type in all of its forms (cf. §19.1), e.g., loc.sg.m. *hauue* (cf. Skt. *své*); nom.pl.m. *hauuå̊ŋhō*; gen.pl.m. *hauuanąm* (Skt. *svā́nām*).

§22.5   *Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns*

The interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Av. are formed on the basis of the stems *ci-/ca-* and *ka-* 'who?, some', the comparison of which with Skt. *kí-*, *ká-* and Gr. τίς, τί, and especially with OCS *čьto*, *kъto*, allows for the reconstruction of an IE pron. *kʷid, *kʷo-s. In principal, the accented pronouns functioned as interrogatives, while the enclitics functioned as indefinites. However, the indefinite function could also be indicated by postposing the IE particles *kʷe or *kʷid; cf. Lat. *quis-que*, OP *kas-ciy*, Skt. *kaś-cit*.

1. To *ci-/ca-*, the following forms are found: nom.sg.m. OAv. YAv. *ciš* (cf. Skt. *kíḥ*), *ciš-cā* 'someone', *naē-ciš* 'no one'; acc.sg.m. YAv. *cǐm*, OAv. *naē-cǐm*; nom.acc.sg.neut. YAv. *ciṯ* (cf. Skt. particle *cit*), *naē-ciṯ*, *cīm* (cf. Skt. *kím*), *ciš*; gen.sg.m.neut. OAv. *cahiiā*; dat.sg.m YAv. *cahmāi*; loc.sg.m. YAv. *cahmi*; nom.pl.m. OAv. *caiiascā*, YAv. *caiiō*; nom.acc.pl.neut. OAv. *cī-cā*, YAv. *ci-ca*.

2. The same inflection as in the pronouns *a-/ima-*, *ta-*, and *ya-* is found with *ka-*, so there is no need to enumerate forms. Nevertheless, cf. the gen.sg.m. OAv. *kahiiā*, YAv. *kahe*, *kaŋ́he* (Skt. *kásya*). Note further the concurrence of the inst.sg.m.neut. forms Av. *kā* and YAv. *kana* (cf. Skt. *kéna*), the latter of which seems to have been made after the inst.sg.m.neut. of the demonstrative *ana-* (§22.2.4; like the inst.sg.m. of *a-/i-/ima-* in §22.2.1).

§ 23   Prepositions and Preverbs

A distinction between adnominal prepositions and preverbs exists only partially, since the majority of the forms admit of both uses. Prepositions can occur before the noun (i.e., as a preposition *stricto sensu*) or after it (as a postposition), though there is a small number of forms that always precede the noun. The majority of preverbs immediately precede the verb.

In the following list, prepositions/postpositions are given, followed by the case that they govern. Keep in mind that, in large part, these words may also serve as adverbs, the sense of which can be derived without further difficulty from the meaning given for the basic forms. Those forms that are exclusively adverbial will be expressly indicated as such.

1. *aiti* (Skt. *áti*, Gr. ἔτι) adv. 'trans-, beyond; sideways'.
2. *aipĭ* (Skt. *ápi*, Gr. ἐπί) + acc. 'above, during; on'; + inst. 'after'. [temporal]
3. *aibī, aiβi, auui, aoi* (Skt. *abhí*, Lat. *amb-*) + acc. 'towards; against; for'; + loc. 'around, about'.
4. *aδairi* (Goth. *undar*) + acc. 'below'.
5. *apă* (Skt. *ápa*, Gr. ἄπο, Lat. *ab*) adv. 'away, dis-'.
6. *ana* (Gr. ἄνα) + acc. 'on, along'.
7. *ə̄əānū, anu* (Skt. *ánu*) + acc. 'towards, following'
8. *aṇtarə* (Skt. *antár*, Lat. *inter*) + acc. 'between, inside'.
9. *ā* (Skt. *ā́*) + acc. 'to; in, on'; + loc. 'on'; + abl. 'since', '(away) from, from'; OAv. + inst. 'for, because'; cf. further § 36.
10. *upă* (Skt. *úpa*, Gr. ὕπο, Lat. *sub*) + acc. 'about, towards; up to, into'; + loc. 'in'.
11. *upairĭ* (Skt. *upári*, Gr. ὕπερ, Lat. *super*) + acc. 'over, above'; + inst. 'beyond' and in comparison.
12. *us*, *uz-* (Skt. *úd*) adv. 'out, up'.
13. OAv. *tarə̄*, YAv. *tarō, tarasca* (Skt. *tirás*) + acc. 'through, by way of; except'.
14. *paitĭ* (Skt. *práti*, Gr. ποτί [πρότι, πρός]) + acc. 'against; by, with; through'; + loc. 'by, through'.
15. *pairĭ* (Skt. *pári*, Gr. περί) + acc. 'around, about'; + abl. 'from, (without)'.
16. *pară* (Skt. *purā́*) + acc., abl., or loc. 'before'.
17. YAv. *parō* (Skt. *purás*) + gen. 'in front of, before' + abl. 'by; because of, since, for'.
18. *pasca* (Skt. *paścā́*) + acc. 'behind; after'; + gen. 'after, behind'; + abl. or inst. 'after'.
19. *fră, fəra-* (Skt. *prá*, Gr. πρό) adv. 'along'.

20. *nĭ̆*, *nii-* (Skt. *ní*) adv. 'down'.
21. *nĭ̆š*, *niž-* (Skt. *niṣ-*, *nir-*) adv. 'out'.
22. *maṯ* (Skt. *smát*) + inst. 'with, together'.
23. *vī*, *vi-*, *vii-* (Skt. *ví*) adv. 'apart, separately', cf. Lat. *dis-*.
24. *hacă̆* (Skt. *sácā*) + abl. '(out) of, from; in relation to, according to', with the agent of the passive also 'by'; OAv. + acc. or inst. 'of; by (reason of)'.
25. *hadā*, *haδa* (Skt. *sahá*) + inst. 'together with'.
26. *haθră̆* (Skt. *satrā́*) + inst. 'together with'
27. *hə̄m*, *hə̄(n)*, *ha-*, *hąm(-)*, *ham-* (Skt. *sám*) adv. 'together, conjointly'

§ 24   The Verb

Just as is the case for nominal inflection (§ 13), the study and description of the Avestan verbal system must first be contextualized among the old Indo-Iranian languages, thanks to whose comparative study we can reconstruct the pre-history of the Indo-Iranian verb. The Avestan verb has retained some notable archaisms, but at the same time also exhibits clear formal and functional innovations with respect to earlier linguistic stages. The following sections will discuss both of these aspects, making constant reference to Sanskrit and, insofar as possible, to Old Persian.

§ 25   Component Elements

§ 25.1   *The Root. The Stem*

The root is the element on which the verbal system is based, in that it determines the lexical content of the forms that are derived from it. The root is usually subject to ablaut (§ 13.2), though in certain verbal classes it is invariable, such as in the case of denominative formations (e.g., *nəmaẋiia-* 'do homage, honor' from *nəmah-* 'homage', etc.; cf. § 26.13). This method of morphological characterization is inherited from Proto-Indo-European, and is of great interest and help for comparison with other Indo-European languages, and especially with equivalent Sanskrit forms, which are often very similar to the Avestan forms.

   1. Ablaut serves to characterize each inflectional form and to distinguish verbal stems. The different types of ablaut patterns can show the root in: **A.** FG/ZG, e.g., 3.sg. OAv. *as-tī*, Skt. *ásti* versus 3.pl. OAv. *h-əṇtī*, Skt. *sánti* (< PIE *$h_1$és-ti* : *h_1s-énti*). The FG usually appears in the root or in the infix/suffix of the active singular indicative and injunctive, as well as throughout the entire

paradigm of the subjunctive, active and middle.—**B.** LG/FG, e.g., in the *s*-aorist, OAv. *dāiš-/dōiš-* to *dis* 'point' (**-āi-/*-ai-*).

Some further examples of ablaut in the root are: *bar* 'bear' (PIE **bʰer*): Av. pres.ind. **bara**-; caus.ind. **bāra**iia-; perf.opt. *baβriiąn*;—*mrū* 'speak' (PIE **mleu̯H*): Av. pres.act.ind. **mra**omi; pres.mid.ind. **mru**iiē;—*vaxš* 'grow' (PIE **h₂u̯eḱs*): Av. caus.ind. **vaxš**aiia-; pres.ind. **uxš**iia-; *zan* 'generate' (PIE **ǵenh₁*): Av. pres.ind. *zī**zan**a-; pass.ind. **za**iia-; fut.ind. *z**ą**hiia-.

2. The root's meaning can be modified through the use of preverbs (§ 23): e.g., the root *dā-* 'give; make' forms several compounds: *ā-dā-* 'accept, receive, take', *us-dā-* 'set up, install', *paiti-dā-* 'confer', *para-dā-* 'grant', *fra-dā-* 'try; perform', *ni-dā-* 'gather', *vī-dā-* 'distribute'. The preverb usually precedes its verb, whether adjacent to or in tmesis from the verb. At times, the preverb appears to be doubled. In late texts, a tendency toward fusion of the preverb and the verb may be observed.

3. The combination of the root with certain affixes (infixes, suffixes, or some combination of these) comprises a lexical unit called the 'stem' (cf. § 13.1). Among the different verbal types, a fundamental division can be made between thematic formations (i.e., formations built with the suffixal vowel *-a-* < PIE **-e/o*, known as the 'thematic vowel') and athematic formations (all the rest). A characteristic feature of old Indo-European languages is the large number of forms that can be built to a temporal stem, owing to the interaction of the various verbal categories.

§ 25.2 *Diathesis*

Avestan has inherited from Indo-European the distinction between the active and middle voice, each characterized by a specific set of endings for all the tenses and moods. The original function of the middle is to highlight the role of the subject of the verbal action. Oftentimes, the middle can be translated as a passive, e.g., act. *aṅhaṯ* 'shot (an arrow)', mid. *aṅhimnaiiå* '(arrows that have been) shot'. In other cases, the middle gives the verb reflexive (act. *fra-pinaoti* 'fatten', mid. *frapinuuata* 'swell') or reciprocal (act. *hacaiti* 'accompanies', mid. *hacaiṇte* 'go together') value. It should be noted that, even in the parent language, there are many verbs that occur only in a single diathesis, so-called *activa tantum* or *media tantum* verbs: YAv. *saēte*, Skt. *śéte*, Gr. κεῖται, Hitt. *kitta*.

The passive does not exist as a separate diathesis, but, as will be seen, the present formation in *-iia-* has passive meaning. In addition, an isolated ending of the 3rd person in *-i*, which goes back to IIr., is found in the aorist with passive value: Av. *vācī* 'was said' (Skt. *á-vāci*), *srāuuī* 'was heard' (Skt. *śrā́vi*); cf. § 32.1.c.

§ 25.3   *Tense*

The expression of tense is carried out through the usage of specific verbal stems
(§ 25.1.3). From the point of view of tense, three main stems are distinguishable:
present, aorist, and perfect. The future stem is, in fact, a present formation
(§ 26.18).

The Avestan tense system, based on these three stems, derives from an
aspectual system that is still present in Greek and residual in Sanskrit. This
system opposed the imperfective aspect of the present stem (action seen in
its development) to the perfective aspect of the aorist stem (action seen as
complete in its entirety). The perfect was not part of this aspectual opposition,
and served to express a resultative (attained state). It is crucial to distinguish
between aspect, which is a binary opposition, and type of action (*Aktionsart*),
which is expressed by multiple formations that were always opposed to an
unmarked base. From a functional perspective, Old Avestan still retains a large
proportion of the old IE system of oppositions, while Young Av. has developed
more towards a temporal system based on the opposition present : injunctive
(impf.; §§ 31, 37.2).

§ 26   **Present Stems**

         Athematic Formations

1.   Root Presents: some roots have ablaut (§ 25.1.1), e.g., *ah-* 'be', *mrū-* 'speak',
      i- 'go', while in others the stem is invariable: *tac-* 'run', *hah-* 'sleep', *aoj-*
      'speak'.
2.a. Presents with partial reduplication (the root has FG/ZG ablaut): e.g.,
      dadā-/dad- 'give; put' (the two verbs attested in Skt. as *dádāmi* 'give'
      and *dádhāmi* 'put' fall together in Avestan), *hiš.hak-/hišc-* 'follow' (Skt.
      síṣak-/sáśc-).
2.b. Presents with total reduplication (intensives): reduplication with the en-
      tire FG root, and ablaut FG/ZG in the root. Examples: *carəkərə-* 'exalt',
      daēdōiš- 'show', *zaozao-* 'call'.
3.   Presents in *-n*: the root contains an infix with ablauting *-na-/-n-* before the
      final consonant of the root, e.g., *vinad-/viṇd-* 'find'. Class **9** is a secondary
      subtype of this type.
4.   Presents in *-nu*: root (generally *aniṭ*) in ZG + an ablauting suffix *-nao-/
      -nu-* (< *-naṷ-/-nu-*), e.g., *surunauu-/surunu-* 'hear' (IE *ḱleṷ); *kərənauu-
      /kərənu-* 'make, do'.
5.   Presents in *-nā*: root (of *seṭ* origin) in ZG + ablauting suffix *-nā-/-n-* (<
      -naH-/-nH-): *gərəβnā-* 'seize', *frīnā-/frīn-* 'please'.

These three infixed present formations can be traced back historically to a single type that split apart on account of particular phonological developments and synchronic reanalysis. Thus, class 4. in fact comes from infixed roots that ended in *-u-*, whose stem final sequence *-na-u̯-/-n-u-* became productive as a independent suffix: e.g., to *kar* 'make', YAv. *kərənaoiti*, Skt. *kr̥ṇóti*. Meanwhile, class 5. is usually limited to old *seṭ* roots, i.e., *-na-H-/-n-H-*: e.g., YAv. *gərəβnāiti*, Skt. *gr̥bhṇā́ti*.

Thematic Formations

Thematic formations (characterized by suffixation of the thematic vowel *-a-/-ā-* < PIE *-e-/-o-*, which precedes the ending) were still productive in the Avestan period. Fourteen different formations, which have precise semantic functions only in part, can be distinguished.

6. Root in FG (root-accented; Skt. *bhávati* type), e.g., *bara-* 'bear', *yaza-* 'worship', *haca-* 'follow'. This is the most productive type in Av.

7. Root in ZG (accent on the thematic vowel; Skt. *tudáti* type), e.g., *iša-* 'set in motion', *θβərəsa-* 'cut'.

8. Root in ZG and partial reduplication (Skt. *píbati* type), e.g., *hišta-* 'stand', *nišhiδa-* 'sit down', *jaγna-* 'strike'.

9. Root in ZG with *-n-* infix, e.g., *kərənta-* 'cut' (Skt. *kr̥ntáti*), *hiṇca-* 'sprinkle' (Skt. *siñcáti*). This is a thematization of 26.3.

10. Root in FG + suffix *-i̯a-*, e.g., *jaiδiia-* 'pray', *mainiia-/mańiia-* 'think' (Skt. *mánya-*).

11.a. Root in ZG + suffix *-i̯a-* (root-accented, non-passive, Skt. type *dī́vyati*), e.g., OAv. *drujiia-*, YAv. *druža-* 'deceive' (Skt. *drúhyati*), *vərəziia-* 'work' (Goth. *waurkjan*).

11.b. Root in ZG + suffix *-i̯á-* (passive, Skt. type *nahyáte*), e.g., *miriia-* 'die' (Skt. *mriyate*). This type employs active or middle endings without distinction in Av.

12. Root in ZG with reduplication + suffix *-i̯a-*, e.g., *iziia-* 'desire' (< *i-iz-i̯a-*), *yaēšiia-* 'boil' (< *i̯a-i̯š-i̯a-*).

13. Denominatives with suffix *-i̯a-*, e.g., *fšuiia-* 'rear livestock' (Av. *pasu-/fšu-* 'livestock'), *bišaziia-* 'heal' (cf. Skt. *bhiṣáj-* 'healer'), *viiāxmainiia-* 'make a speech' from *viiāxman-* 'assembly'

14. Root in ZG + suffix *-aiia-*, e.g., *guzaiia-* 'hide', *saδaiia-* 'seem', *zbaiia-* 'call'. This type includes some archaic OAv. causative forms with ZG: OAv. *urūdōiia-* 'make cry', *urūpaiia-* 'make sick'.

15. Root in FG (ā in an open syllable; § 7.4.6) + suffix *-aiia-* (causative): *raocaiia-* 'light up', *dāraiia-* 'hold'. This type exhibits a distinction between

roots with FG of the root, such as *vaxšaiia-* 'make grow' (Skt. *vakṣáya-*), and verbs with LG of the root, e.g., *tāpaiia-* 'heat' (Skt. *tāpáya-*). This distinction results from the fact that the root vowel of the causative was a PIE *o, which has different outcomes depending on its position in the syllable (i.e., BRUGMANN §7.4.6). It should be noted that the causative (sub)type *tāpaiia-* became very productive in Avestan. Cf., for example, the causative of *sū* 'enlarge': OAv. *sauuaiia-* (< PIE **ḱou̯h₁-éi̯e-*), versus YAv. *sāuuaiia-*, with LG introduced here.

16. Root in ZG + suffix *-sa-* (including the inchoative), e.g., *pərəsa-* 'ask' (Skt. *pṛccháti*), *tafsa-* 'become warm'. The suffix *-sa-* continues the PIE suffix **-ske/o-*. Old present formations (non-inchoative, of the type *jasa-* to *gam*), as well as Avestan inchoative formations, fall under this type.

17. Root in ZG + suffix *-ha/sa/ža-* (desiderative). Two subtypes appear here: **a.** simple: *gərəfša-* 'try to grab';—**b.** with partial reduplication in *i*: *diβža-* 'try to deceive' (cf. Skt. *dípsati*). The diffent forms of the suffix are historically explicable from the IIr. suffix **-(H)sa-* in different environments.

18. Root in FG + suffix *-hiia/siia-* (future), e.g., *vaxšiia-* to *vac* 'speak' (Skt. *vakṣyáti*), *ząhiia-* to *zan* 'generate' (Skt. *janiṣyáti*).

§27   Aorist Stems

1. Athematic root aorist (the root has FG/ZG ablaut). The root itself is the stem of the aorist, e.g., *jam-/gəm-/ga-* to *gam* 'go, come'; *dā-/d-* to the two roots *dā* 'give; put'; *srauu-/sru-* to *sru* 'hear'.

2.a. Thematic root aorist: ZG of the root + *-a-* (root-accented), e.g., *vīda-* to *vid* 'find, know', Skt. *vída-*; *sīša-* 'teach' to *sāh*, Skt. *śiṣa-*. In some formations, FG of the root appears, but this generally occurs for phonetic reasons: *taša-* (Skt. *tákṣa-*), *hana-* (Skt. *sána-*).

2.b. Reduplicated thematic aorist: ZG of the root with partial reduplication in *a* + suffix *-a-*, e.g., *vaoca-* (Skt. *vóca-*) to *vac* 'speak', *nąsa-* (**na-nś-a-*) to *nas* 'disappear'.

3. Sigmatic aorist (athematic): root with ablaut pattern LG (indicative and active injunctive) / FG (other) + **-s-*, e.g., *θrā̊ŋh-* to *θrā* 'protect', *baxš-* to *baj* 'divide', *raos-* to *urud-* 'cry', *mə̄ŋgh-* to *man* 'think', *dāiš-/dōiš-* to *dis* 'point'.

§ 28 Perfect Stem

The perfect stem is an athematic formation with reduplication and ablaut (< *o/zero*) in the root. When the root contains or ends in *ĭ*, the reduplication vowel will be *ĭ*; when the root contains or ends in *ŭ*, the reduplication vowel will be *ŭ*.; in all other cases, the reduplication vowel is *a* (or rarely, *ā*).

The root takes FG in the active singular (but *ā* in an originally open syllable, cf. BRUGMANN § 7.4.6), FG throughout the entire subjunctive, but ZG in all other forms. In contrast to the other two stems, the perfect is further characterized by a set of special endings in the active and middle indicative.

Examples of perfect stems are *diδaii-/diδī-* to *dī* 'look', *susru-* to *sru* 'hear', *vauuac-/vaoc-* to *vac* 'speak', *bauuar-/baβr-* to *bar* 'bear', *jaɣm-* to *gam* 'go, come', *vāuuarəz-/vāuuərəz-* to *varz* 'work', *dadā-/dāδ-/daδ-* to *dā* 'put; give', *hazd-* to *had* 'sit'.

The root *vid* 'find, know' constitutes an exception in that it forms an (inherited) perfect without reduplication: *vaēd-/vōid-/vīd-*.

§ 29 Moods

Avestan possesses five moods, each of which has its own meaning (cf. § 37), and which are expressed through special formations. The subjunctive and optative are formed with suffixes on the three types of primary stems. The *subjunctive* is formed with a suffix *-a-* and primary or secondary endings (without distinction?). The root always takes FG, even in the middle voice. The *optative* employs the (ablauting) modal suffix *-iiā-/-ī-* (< PIE *-ieh₁/*ih₁-) and secondary endings. The present *indicative* uses primary endings, the indicative of the aorist uses secondary endings, while the perfect indicative has its own special endings. The *injunctive* does not carry the augment (§ 31) and is served by secondary endings (with the augment, the imperfect, which serves as the preterite for the present, would be formed). The *imperative* has its own endings.

§ 30 Personal Endings

Personal endings are an essential element for the expression of the various verbal categories. Endings are added to the verbal stem and mark person (3), number (3: singular, dual, plural), and diathesis (2). The endings are multifunctional, in the sense that each one expresses several paradigmatic roles: for example, *-mahĭ* is a 1st.pers. plural active. In Avestan, just as in IE, there is a basic

TABLE 16   *The verbal endings of the active*

	Primary	**Secondary**	**Imperative**	**Perfect**
1st **sg.**	-mǐ; -ǎ̆	-m, -am	—	-ǎ̆
2nd	-hǐ, -šǐ	*-h, -s, -š	-∅; -dǐ, -δi	-θǎ̆
3rd	-tǐ	-t̰, -t	-tǔ	-ǎ̆
1st **du.**	-uuahī	-uuā	—	w.a.
2nd	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.
3rd	-tō; -θō	-təm	w.a.	-atarə
1st **pl.**	-mahǐ	-mǎ̆	—	-mǎ̆
2nd	-θǎ̆	-tǎ̆	-tǎ̆	w.a.
3rd	-ṇtǐ, -atǐ, -aiṇti	-n, -aṯ; -ārə, -ārəš	-ṇtǔ	-arǎ̆, -ərəš

distinction between primary endings (PE, used in the pres.ind. and, partly, the subjunctive) and secondary endings (SE, used in the pres.inj., the aorist and the optative); in addition, there are other sets of endings for the imperative and the perfect indicative. The subjunctive has a special ending just in the 1.sg.[10]

§30.1 *Active Endings*

Be aware that some endings are not attested in Avestan; these are marked here as "w.a." (= without attestation). Those endings with variants conditioned by phonetic environment are given with a comma separating the variants: for example, the secondary ending of the 2.sg., which comes from IIr. *-s, appears as -š (*mraoš* 'you said', cf. §11.20.5), as -s (before enclitic -ca, §11.20.1), and as the outcome of *-h (in the thematic ending, e.g., *jasō* 'you came', cf. §7.13.1). A semicolon separates endings of different origin, such as those of the 3.du, of which -tō corresponds to the original 3.du. ending (cf. Skt. -tas), while -θō must have been taken over from the 2.du. (cf. Skt. -thas). As regards the thematic formations, it must be noted that some forms have been partially disfigured by phonetic developments: e.g., the already cited 2.sg. -ō < *-a-h.

N.B.: a. Primary Endings: The agreement with the endings of Skt., sg. *-mi, -si, -ti* and pl. *-masi, -tha, -nti/-ati* is evident. The 1.sg. thematic *-āmi* exhibits an *ā*

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10   The terms "primary" and "secondary" are traditional; descriptively, the primary endings are derived from the secondary ones by adding an element *-i*, which in PIE was a marker of current relevance (*hic et nunc*).

< PIE *o (§ 7.4.6); after *ii*, we do not find *-āmi* but *-emi*; here *$ā$ was analogically replaced by *a; cf. 7.10.1. On the other hand, a 1.sg. ending *-ā* (Gr. -ω, Lat. *-ō* < PIE *$-oh_2$), exclusive to thematic formations, also occurs. This distinction between the thematic and athematic conjugations is old, and ceases to be productive in YAv., which adopts the ending *-mi* for both: °*barāmi* (and in Sanskrit: *bhárāmi*).—The 1.du., in comparison with Skt. *-vas*, has taken the *-i* from the 1.pl.

b. Secondary Endings: The agreement of these endings with those of Skt., sg. *-(a)m*, *-s*, *-t*, 1.du. *-va*, pl. *-ma*, *-ta*, *-(a)n/-ur*, is evident.—The 3.du. *-təm* concurs with OP *-tam*, but in Skt., *-tam* is the form of the 2.du., while Skt. *-tām* is the form of the 3.du. In Iranian, the endings of the 2.du. were introduced into the 3.du.; the same happens in the middle (cf. § 30.2.a).—The endings *-ārə* and *-ārəš* are found only in the athematic optative: the *-ā-* is part of the suffix *-iiā-*, and the ending is *-rə(š)*, which corresponds exactly to Skt. *-ur* (3.pl.aor.opt. *buiiąn* together with *buiiārəš*, Skt. *bhūyúr*). The 3.pl. thematic ending is *-ən*: YAv. *pacaiiən*.

c. The **subjunctive** has a unique ending in the 1.sg., *-ānĭ̆*, which coexists with *-ă̆*. The 3.du. and the 2.pl. have primary endings, the 1.du. and the 1.pl. have secondary endings. The remaining persons take both PE or SE without distinction (but Skt. has the SE in the 3.pl.)—The **imperative** has forms only for the 2nd and 3rd persons of the sg. and pl. Just as in IE, the 2.sg. can take an ending ∅ (thematic stems) or, in athematic stems, take the IE/IIr. ending *-dʰi* > Gr. *-θi*, Skt. *-dhi/hi*. The remaining Avestan endings also correspond to those of Sanskrit, *-tu*, *-ta*, and *-ntu*. However, the ending that corresponds to Skt. *-tāt*, Gr. -τω, Lat. *-tō(d)* is not found. The 2.pl. uses the secondary ending.

d. The **perfect** has its own set of endings only in the indicative. These endings, in large part, agree with the Skt. forms: sg. *-a*, *-tha*, *-a*, 1.pl. *-ma*. The 3.du. *-atarə* comes out of *-atr̥*, while Skt. *-atur* reflects *-atr̥š*, with the same ending *-r̥š* that Skt. has in the 3.pl., *-ur*. Av. has the 3.pl. in *-arə̆* < *-r̥* (the *-r̥š* appears only in the "plupf." *cikōitərəš*).

e. The **participles** of the present active are formed with the suffix *-nt-* (inflection in § 18.3.); its feminine is marked with the suffix *-ī-* (§ 19.3.): *hənt-*, f. *haitī-*; *šiiąs*, f. *šiieitī*.—The perf.act.part. has its own suffix, *-uuāh-/-uš-* (inflection § 18.8): *vīduuāh-/vīduš-* (*vid*); *daδuuāh-/daduš-* (*dā*); its feminine takes the suffix *-ī-* (§ 19.3.), e.g., *jaɣmūšī-* (*gam*; Skt. *jagmúṣī-*).

§ 30.2   *Middle Endings*

The earlier remarks made in the paragraph above, § 30.1, apply equally to Table 17.

TABLE 17   *The verbal endings of the middle*

	Primary	Secondary	Imperative	Perfect
1st **sg.**	-ĕ, -ōi	-ĭ; -ă	–	-ĕ
2nd	-hĕ, -ŋ́hĕ, -šĕ	*-ha, -ŋhă, -šă	-huuă, -ŋᵛhă, -šuuă	w.a.
3rd	-tĕ; -ĕ	-tă; -ĭ	-tạm; -ạm	-ĕ, -oi
1st **du.**	w.a.	-uuaidī	–	w.a.
2nd	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.
3rd	-aētĕ, -ōiθe; -āitĕ	-aētəm; -ātəm	w.a.	-āitĕ
1st **pl.**	-maidĕ, maiδe	-maidĭ	–	w.a.
2nd	-duiiē, -δβe, -θβe	-dūm, -δβəm	-dūm, -δβəm	w.a.
3rd	-ṇtĕ, -aitĕ; -re, -āire	-ṇtă, -ată; -rəm	-ṇtạm	-re

N.B.: a. Primary Endings: The endings correspond, in large part, to the series of endings in Skt., sg. *-e* (< *-aị), *-se* (< *-soị), *-te* (< *-toị), 3.du. *-ete* (thematic) and *-āte*, pl. *-mahe* (*-madʰaị), *-dhve*, *-nte/ate.*—The 3.sg. has a further ending *-ĕ*, Skt. *-e*, which is used for verbs with stative meaning; it is the same form as the ending of the 3.sg.perf.mid.—The co-occurrence in the 3.du. of *-aētĕ* and *-ōiθe* (thematic endings) is explained by the fact that the ending of the 2.du.mid. **-aịθaị* (Skt. *-ethe*) was adopted by the 3.du. (§ 30.1.b).—The endings of the 3.pl., *-re* and *-āire* (< *-āre*; cf. Skt. *-re*) were used in PIE for the stative. They originate in the PIE ending *-ro* of the 3.pl. of the middle.

    b. Secondary Endings: The endings correspond to the series of endings in Skt., 1sg. *-i/-a*, 3.sg. *-ta*, 1.du. *-vahi* (< *-ụadʰi*), 3.du. *-etām* (thematic)/-*ātām*, pl. *-mahi*, *-dhvam*, *-nta/-ata* and *-(i)ram/-(i)ran*—For the 3.du. *-aētəm*, it must again be presumed that the final short vowel was introduced from the 2.du. **-aịtam* (Skt. has innovated with *-ethām*).—In 3.sg., we find an ending *-ĭ* (Skt. *-i*), which is utilized for the isolated passive aorist (§ 25.2).—The endings of the 3.pl. with *-r-* are endings of the stative, which continues the old PIE middle endings in *-ro* with a secondary *-nt*, thus *-ront*.

    c. The subjunctive has a unique ending in the 1.sg. *-āne*, which coexists with the old *-āi* (*a-aị), cf. Skt. *-ai* versus OP *-ānaiy*. The remaining persons of the middle have primary endings.—The imperative shows forms that correspond to endings of Skt., 2.sg. *-sva*, 3.sg. *-tām*, 2.pl. *-dhvam* (= SE), 3.pl. *-ntām*. It is possible that there may have been a "passive" form (parallel to the 3.sg. of the passive aorist, § 25.2): 3.sg. Av. *-ạm* (Skt. *-ām*), but the evidence is not conclusive.

TABLE 18   *The use of the augment*

	Unaugmented	Augmented
Present	inj.	impf.
Aorist	inj.	ind.
Perfect	ind.	plupf. (absent in Av.)

d. In the **perfect**, there are very few forms attested, but they agree with the corresponding forms of Skt.: 1.sg. *-e*, 3.sg. *-e*, 3.du. *-āte*, 3.pl. *-re*.

e. The middle **participle** exhibits a suffix *-āna-* (also *-ọna-* and *-ana-*; Skt. *-āna-*) in athematic forms and *-mna-* (OP *-mna-*, cf. Skt. *-māna-* versus Pāli *-mina*) in thematic forms. This distribution of allomorphs is due to the development of the PIE suffix *-mh₁no-* > IIr. *°C-ṃHna- > *-Cāna-* (after a consonant) versus *°V-mHna- > *-Vmna-* (after a vowel). The perf.part.mid. makes use only of the suffix *-āna-* (Skt. *-āna-*).

§ 31   The Augment

An accented prefix *é-* (*h₁e-?), through which indicatives with preterital value were made, existed in Proto-Indo-European. When added to an injunctive present form (the basic, unmarked form), the augment transforms an injunctive into an imperfect; if an augment is added to a perfect stem, it would form a pluperfect. The preterital value of the aorist stem was also formally expressed through aorist injunctive forms with the augment.

The augment is systematically employed in Classical Greek (pres. λύω: impf. ἔλυον), in Sanskrit (*bhárāmi*: *ábharam*), and in Old Persian (*°barāmiy*: *abaram*); its use in Avestan, however, seems to be much more limited, since the majority of preterital forms do not show the augment, the forms of the injunctive serving to express the past tense. This use could be due, in many cases, to the particular content of the texts. In any case, the (new) function of the injunctive in Avestan is not very well understood.

In Old Av., there is no clear evidence for any imperfect forms, while in Young Av., the few imperfect forms seem to have disparate functions (in some cases, it can be interpreted as an anterior to the injunctive).

Descriptively, forms with secondary endings can bear or not bear the augment. In the case of forms without the augment, they are termed 'injunctives', following tradition. In the case of forms that bear the augment, they are called

'imperfects' (in the present stem) or indicative (in the aorist stem). For its part, the perfect, with its own set of endings, has both forms without the augment, 'indicatives', and forms with the augment, 'pluperfects'.

Furthermore, distinguishing between the augment and the preverb *ā* is often difficult, on account of the partial phonetic confusion between *a* and *ā* in Av., depending upon phonetic environment (e.g., §7.3). Thus, a form *paitiiāmraoṯ* 'he addressed' can reflect **paiti ā mraoṯ* (with the preverb *ā*), **paiti amraoṯ* (with impf.), or **paiti ā amraoṯ*.

§32   Paradigms

In the following section, we present verbal paradigms consisting of attested forms, with one form to exemplify each person, as well as the distinct phonetic variants that an ending may exhibit (cf. e.g., N.B. under §30.1). The forms given in the tables belong solely to YAv., except where expressly indicated to the contrary using *italics*. Forms of the **subjunctive** with secondary endings appear in **bold italic** type; historically, these forms are more archaic, but they are in the process of being replaced by primary endings in Avestan.

§32.1   *Athematic Root Present and Root Aorist*
Given that the inflection of both of these formations is the same, they are presented together in Table 19. To provide examples of the paradigm, we offer forms from the following **present** stems: *ah-/h-/x́-/s-/z-/∅-* 'be', *aii-/i-/y-* 'go', *aoj-* 'speak', *āh-* 'be seated', *is-* 'control, rule', *jan-/ja-/γn-* 'kill', *tac-* 'run', *tāš-/taš-* 'shape, create', *pā-* 'protect', *mrauu-/mrū-* 'speak', *vas-/us-* 'wish', *vā-* 'blow', *saii-* 'lie', *sāh-* 'teach', *stauu-/stu-* 'praise', *šaii-/ši-* 'dwell'. Likewise, we offer forms from the following **aorist** stems: *car-/kərə-* 'make, do', *jam-/gəm-/ga-* 'come', *caii-/śii-* 'perceive', *cōiθ-/ciθ-* 'show', *cōiš-/ciš-* 'gather', *dar-/dr-* 'hold', *darəs-/dərəs-* 'look', *dā-/d-* 'give; put', *bauu-/bū-* 'become', *man-* 'think', *mōiθ-/miθ-* 'throw', *yaog-/yuj-* 'yoke', *van-* 'win', *¹var-* 'cover', *²var-* 'want', *varəz-* 'work', *rād-* 'make', *srauu-/sru-* 'hear', *hac-/sc-* 'follow'.

TABLE 19   *The root present and root aorist: indicative and injunctive*

a. Pres.	Ind.act.	Ind.mid.	Inj./impf.act.	Inj.mid.
1st **sg.**	ahmi	ni-ɣne, mruiie, *aojōi*	mraom	*aojī*
2nd	ahi, vaši	taxše, *pą̊ṇ̇hē*	*mraoš*	*pairii-aoɣžā*
3rd	asti, jaiṇti, mraoiti	mrūite,ište, aoxte; mruiie, *isē*	mraoṭ, tāšt, ās	*aogədā*, aoxta
1st **du.**	*usuuahī*	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.
3rd	stō	w.a.	impf. auuāitəm (auua-i-)	w.a.
1st **pl.**	mahi	mrūmaide	w.a.	w.a.
2nd	*stā*	w.a.	*mraotā*	w.a.
3rd	həṇti, yeiṇti, vå̄ṇti	aojaite; å̄ṇhāire, saēre	impf. auuāin	w.a.

b. Aor.	Inj.act.	Inj.mid.
1st **sg.**	*darəsəm*	w.a.
2nd	*cōiš, då̄, varəš-cā*	*då̄ṇhā, mə̄ṇghā*
3rd	*jə̄n, dāṭ, mōist*	*maṇtā*
1st **du.**	w.a.	*duuaidī*
3rd	w.a.	*a-sruuātəm*
1st **pl.**	*dāmā*	*varəmaidī*
2nd	*dātā*	*a-srūdūm*
3rd	*gəmən, dąn, yūjə̄n*	*vī-ś́iiātā*

c.   *Passive Aorist*

Within the aorist system, there is an isolated 3rd pers. indicative/injunctive form that adds an ending *-ĭ* (Skt. *-i*) directly to the aorist stem, in which the root seems to show LG (by BRUGMANN, § 7.4.6?). The roots that exhibit this formation are *ciš* 'gather', *vac* 'say', and *sru* 'hear' (and perhaps ²*mrū* 'mistreat'). Forms of the 3rd.sg.ind./inj. of the passive aor. are: OAv. *cəuuīšĭ, vācī* and *a-uuācī* (Skt. *ávāci*), *srāuuī* (Skt. *śrā́vi*). Later, this ending is extended to other secondary formations, such as the present stems *ərənu-* (*ar* 'set in motion'), *jan* 'kill', or the perfect stem *āδ-* 'say': YAv. *ərənāuui, jaini, āiδi*.

TABLE 20   *The root present and root aorist: other moods*

d. Subj.	Pres.act.	Pres.mid.	Aor.act.	Aor.mid.
1st **sg.**	fra-mrauua, fra-mra-uuāni	mrauuāne; *aojāi*	*yaojā; varānī*	*mānāi*, varānē
2nd	*aŋhō*	w.a.	*dāhī*	*dåńhē*
3rd	aŋhaiti, *aŋhaṱ*	w.a.	*dāitī; dāṱ*	yaož-dāitē, cōiθaitē
1st **du.**	w.a	w.a.	w.a.	jamaētē
3rd	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.
1st **pl.**	*åŋhāmā, aiβi-šaiiama*	išāmaidē	darəsāma	w.a.
2nd	w.a.	w.a.	*vī-caiiaθā*	daduiiē
3rd	*aŋhən, apa.tacin*	w.a.	*daiṇtī, rādəṇtī; jimən*	*dåṇtē, yaojaṇtē*

e. Opt.	Pres.act.	Pres.mid.	Aor.act.	Aor.mid
1st **sg.**	*x́iiəm*	w.a.	*diiąm*	*diiā*
2nd	mruiiå	mruuīšā	jamiiå	*dīšā*
3rd	mruiiāṱ; *sāhīṱ*	aojīta	*jamiiāṱ*; vainīṱ	*drītā*
1st **pl.**	*x́iiāmā*	w.a.	*jamiiāmā*, buiiama; srəuuīmā	*mainimaidī*
2nd	*x́iiātā*	w.a.	dāiiata	w.a.
3rd	hiiārə	w.a.	jamiiārəš; jamiiąn	w.a.

f. Impv.	Pres.act.	Pres.mid.	Aor.act.	Aor.mid.
2nd **sg.**	mrūiδi, *zdī, idī*	w.a.	*dāidī*	*kərəšuuā, dāhuuā*
3rd	mraotu, *astū*	w.a.	*dātū*	w.a.
2nd **pl.**	staota	w.a.	*dātā*	w.a.
3rd	yaṇtu, *hə̄ṇtū*	w.a.	*scaṇtū*	w.a.

g. Part.	Pres.act.	Pres.mid.	Aor.act.	Aor.mid.
	həṇt-, f. *haitī-*; *mruuaṇt-* nom.sg.m. *šiiąs*, f. *šiieitī-*	*mruuāna-, aojana-*	*daṇt-*	sr(a)uuana-

§ 32.2 *Athematic Reduplicated Present*

To provide examples of the paradigm, we offer forms of the following present stems (with partial reduplication): *kuxšnu-* (*xšnu* 'greet'), *cikaii-* (*ci* 'perceive'), *dadā-/dad-* (*dā* 'give; put'), *didaii-/dīdi-* (*dī* 'watch'), *mim-* (*mā* 'measure'), *zazā-/zaz-* (*zā* 'leave'), *zaz-* (*zā* 'rise'), *hiš.hāk-/hišc-* (*hac* 'follow'). The rare forms with total reduplication (§ 26.2.b.) have the same endings.

TABLE 21 *The reduplicated present*

	Ind.act.	Ind.mid.	Subj.act.	Subj.mid
1st **sg.**	daδąmi	daiθe, *dadē*	daθāni	yaož-daθāne
2nd	daδāhi	w.a.	zazāhi; ***yaož-daθō***	w.a.
3rd	daδāiti	daste, *dazdē*	yaož-daθāiti; ***daθaṯ***	daθaite
3rd **du.**	w.a.	zazāite	cikaiiatō	w.a.
1st **pl.**	*dadəmahī*	*dadəmaidē*	***daθāma***	*hišcamaidē*
2nd	w.a.	w.a.	*fra-mīmaθā*	w.a.
3rd	*dadaitī*	w.a.	zaząnti, ***daθən***	yaož-daθənte

	Inj.act.	Inj.mid.	Opt.act.	Opt.mid.
1st **sg.**	daδąm, dīδaēm	w.a.	w.a.	daiδe
2nd	*dadā̊*	w.a.	daiδīš; daiθiiā̊	daiθīša
3rd	daδāṯ, *didąs*	dasta, *dazdā*	daiδīṯ; daiδiiāṯ	daiθīta, *daidītā*
3rd **du.**	w.a.	w.a.	daiδītəm	w.a.
3rd **pl.**	ā-dadaṯ	w.a.	daiθiiąn; daiθiiārəš	w.a.

	Impv.act.	Impv.mid.	Part.act.	Part.mid.
2nd **sg.**	dazdi	*dasuuā*	daδat-, daθat-; yaož-daθənt-	daθāna-, kuxšnuuąna-
3rd	*dadātū*	w.a.		
2nd **pl.**	dasta	*mąz-dazdūm*		

§ 32.3   *Presents in* -n, -nu, *and* -nā

In what follows, we present a synopsis of all types of presents with a nasal infix. Membership in each specific type of formation will be expressly indicated (in the text and in the tables) using the following numbering system: **1** presents in *-n*; **2** presents in *-nu*; **3** presents in *-nā*.

To provide examples of the paradigm, we offer forms of the following stems: **1.** *cinaθ-* to *ciθ* 'show', *cinah-/cĭš* (< **ciNš-*; cf. § 7.15) to *ciš* 'gather', *mərəṇc-* to *marc* 'destroy', *minas-* to *miias* 'mix', *vinad-/viṇd-* to *vid* 'find'; **2.** *ərənauu-/ərənu-* to *ar* 'set in motion', *kərənauu-/kərənu-* to *kar* 'make, do', *tanauu-/tanu-* to *tan* 'stretch', *dəbənauu-* to *dab* 'deceive', *vərənauu-/vərənu-* to *var* 'cover', *spašnauu-/spašnu-* to *spas* 'watch', *srinauu-/srinu-* to *sri* 'lean on', *surunauu-/surunu-* to *sru* 'hear', *hunauu-/hunu-* to *hu* 'press out'; **3.** *gərəβnā-* to *grab* 'seize', *dərən-* to *dar* 'tear', *pərənā-/pərən-* to *par* 'fight', *frīnā-/ frīn-* to *frī* 'please', *vərən-* to *var* 'want', *stərənā-/stərən-* to *star* 'deploy, scatter', *hunā-/hun-* to *hū* 'impel'.

TABLE 22   *Nasal presents*

	a. Ind.act.	Ind.mid.	b. Subj.act.	Subj.mid.
1st **sg.**	1. *cinahmī*		2. *kərənauuāni*;	2. *kərənauuāne*
	2. *kərənaomi*		tanauua	3. *pərənāne*;
	3. *frīnāmi*	3. *pərəne*	3. *frīnāni*	*frīnāi*
2nd	3. ˣ*hunāhi*	w.a.	2. ˣni-*srinauuāhi*	w.a.
3rd	1. cinasti	1.*mərəγəṇte*	**2. *hunauuaṱ***	2. *vərənauuaitē*
	2. *kərənaoiti*	(*mərəṇte)	**3. *frīnāṱ***	3. *pərənāite*
	3. *gərəβnāiti*	2. *vərənūite*		
		3. *vərəṇtē*		
3rd **du.**	2. hunutō			
1st **pl.**	1. *cĭšmahī*	1. cĭšmaide	w.a.	1. cinaθāmaide
	3. *friiąnmahī* <			
	*fṛnmahi			
2nd	2. ⁺*spašnuθā*	1. *mərəŋgəduiiē*		
3rd	1. *mərəṇciṇti*	1. *mərəṇcaitē*	**2. *kərənaon***	2. *ərənauuaṇte*
	2. *kərənuuaiṇti*		**3. *gərəβnąn***	
	3. *frīnəṇti*			

	c. Inj.act.	Inj.mid.	d. Opt.act.	Opt.mid.
1st **sg.**	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.	2. tanuiia
2nd	1. *minaš*	w.a.	2. surunuiiā̊ 3. ˣ°stərəniiā̊?	w.a.
3rd	1. *cinas* 2. kərənaoṯ	2. hunūta 3. vərəṇta	1. cīšiiāṯ 2. kərənuiiāṯ	1. mərəṇcīta
3rd **du.**	w.a	w.a.		w.a.
2nd **pl.**	2. *dəbənaotā*	w.a.		
3rd	1. viṇdən	3. *vərənātā*	1. cīšiią 2. ⁺hunuiiārəš	w.a.

	e. Impv.act.	Impv.mid.	Part.act.	Part.mid.
2nd **sg.**	1. *cīždī* 2. kərənūiδi 3. *pərənā*	w.a.	2. *kərənuuaṇt-* 3. *dərənaṇt-*, f. *uruuīnaitī-*	1. *viṇdāna-* 2. *hunuuana-*
2nd **pl.**	2. srinaota	w.a.		
3rd	3. frīnəṇtu	w.a.		

§32.4 *Thematic Presents and Aorists*

To provide examples of the paradigm, we offer forms of the following stems: **pres.** *xraosa-* 'shout', *xšaiia-* 'rule, control', *gūša-* 'hear', *cara-* 'go', *jaiδiia-* 'pray', *jasa-* 'come', *juua-* 'live', *taca-* 'run', *tauruuaiia-* 'conquer', *daoiia-* 'be deceived', *dāraiia-* 'hold', *dīdrayža-* 'want to hold', *θrāiia-* 'protect', *pərəsa-* 'ask', *bauua-* 'become', *bara-* 'bear', *nasiia-* 'disappear', *maniia-* 'think', *yasa-* 'take', *yaza-* 'worship, sacrifice', *yūiδiia-* 'fight', *vərəca-* 'pull apart', *vərəziia-* 'work', *vīsa-* 'serve', *srāuuaiia-* 'proclaim', *srarāiia-* 'lean', *zaiia-* 'be born', *haca-* 'follow', *hišta-* 'stand'; **aor.** *vaoca-* 'say'.

TABLE 23 *The thematic present and aorist*

	a. Ind.act.	Ind.mid.	b. Subj.act.	Subj.mid.
1st **sg.**	barāmi, jaiδiiemi *pərəsā*	baire, ā-iiese	barāni, srāuu-aiieni; *xšaiiā*	*jasāi*
2nd	barahi, jaiδiiehi	hištahe, xšaiiehe	barāhi; ***srāraiiå***	pərəsåṇhe
3rd	baraiti, nasiieti	baraite	jasāiti; ***jasāṯ***	yazāite
1st **du.**	w.a.	w.a.	***juuāuua***	w.a.
3rd	baratō; yūiδiiaθō	vīsaēte; fra-carōiθe	jasātō	w.a.
1st **pl.**	barāmahi	barāmaide	*juuāmahī*; ***ba-rāma***	w.a.
2nd	*xšaiiaθā*	fra-caraθβe; *dīdray-žō.duiiē*	w.a.	w.a.
3rd	barəṇti, bauuaiṇti, taciṇti, jaiδiieiṇti	vīsəṇte, θrāiieṇte, haciṇte	baråṇti; ***barąn***	zaiiåṇte

	c. Inj./impf.act.	Inj./impf.mid.	d. Opt.act.	Opt.mid.
1st **sg.**	barəm, abaom vī-δāraēm	baire	w.a.	*isōiiā*
2nd	jasō	zaiiaŋha	vī-δāraiiōiš	yazaēša
3rd	jasaṯ	zaiiata	jasōiṯ	maniiaēta
3rd **du.**	jasatəm	*jasaētəm*	w.a.	a-pərəsaiiatəm
1st **pl.**	aor. *ā-uuaocāmā*	w.a.	jasaēma	*vaēnōimaidī*, būiδiiōimaiδe[11]
2nd	tauruuaiiata	w.a.	frā-θβərəsaēta	rāmōiδβəm
3rd	jasən, baon	mainiiaṇta, fraorəci-ṇta, *vīsəṇta*	baraiiən, kāraiiən	yazaiiaṇta

	e. Impv.act.	Impv.mid.	f. Part.act.	Part.mid.
1st **sg.**	jasa, nase	baraŋᵛha, *gūšahuuā*	jasaṇt-, vərəziiaṇt-/vərəziṇt-	barəmna-, hacimna-, a-δaoiiamna-
2nd	baratu	vərəziiātąm		
2nd **pl.**	barata	dāraiiaδβəm, *gūšōdūm*		
3rd	barəṇtu	xraosəṇtąm		

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11   With primary ending!

§32.5 *Sigmatic Aorist*

To provide examples of the paradigm, we offer forms of the following aorist stems: *uruuaxš-* (*uruuaj* 'walk'), *xšnaoš-* (*xšnu* 'greet'), *θβarš-* (*θβars* 'cut, shape'), *θrā̊ŋh-* (*θrā* 'protect'), *darəš-* (*dar* 'hold'), *dā̊ŋh-* (*dā* 'put'), *dāiš-/dōiš-* (*dis* 'point'), *fraš-* (*fras* 'ask'), *baxš-* (*baj* 'divide'), *naš-* (*nas* 'bring'), *naēš-* (*nī* 'lead, guide'), *mə̄ṇgh-/mə̄h-* (*man* 'think'), *vaŋh-/və̄ṇgh-* (*van* 'win'), *varəš-* (*varz* 'work'), *važ-/vaš-* (*vaz* 'go, lead'), *raēxš-* (*iric* 'abandon, remove'), *rāh-/rā̊ŋh-* (*rā* 'bestow'), *sąs-* (*saṇd* 'appear'), *stā̊ŋh-* (*stā* 'stand'), *zāh-* (*zā* 'leave').

TABLE 24   *The sigmatic aorist*

	a. Ind./inj.act.	Ind./inj.mid.	b. Subj.act.	Subj.mid.
1st **sg.**	w.a.	*fraší*; mə̄ṇghī	*varəšā*	*xšnaošāi*, *məṇghāi*; varəsānē
2nd	*dāiš*	w.a.	w.a.	*rā̊ŋhaŋhōi*
3rd	dārəšt, *sąs, vąs*	xšnaošta, mąsta	stā̊ŋhaiti, *varəšaitī* baxšaitī; ***və̄ṇghaṯ, naēšaṯ***	*varəšaitē*; **vašata**
1st **pl.**	w.a.	*a-mə̄hmaidī*	**nāšāmā**	w.a.
2nd	w.a.	*θβarōždūm*	w.a.	**maz-dā̊ŋhō.dūm**
3rd	*uruuāxšaṯ*	w.a.	*varəšəṇtī*; ***xšnaošən, və̄ṇghən***	vašā̊ṇte

	c. Opt.act.	Opt.mid.	d. Impv.act.	Impv.mid.
1st **sg.**	w.a.	w.a.		
2nd	w.a.	*raēxšīša*	*dōiší*	*fərašuuā*
3rd	fra-zahīṯ	w.a.		
1st **pl.**	nāšīma	w.a.		
2nd	w.a.	w.a.	*sąstā*	*θrāzdūm*
3rd	aēšiiąn	w.a.		

	e. Part.act.	Part.mid.		
	vaŋhəṇt-?	maŋhāna-		

§32.6 *Perfect*

To provide examples of the paradigm, we offer forms of the following perfect stems: *ād-* (to *ad* 'say'), *āh-* (*ah* 'be'), *iiei-* (*i* 'go'), *irīriθ-* (*iriθ-* 'die'), *urūraod-* (*urud* 'obstruct'), *cikōit-/cicit-* (*cit* 'understand'), *jaɣm-* (*gam* 'come'), *jaɣār-* (*gar* 'wake'), *jaɣauruu-* (grab 'seize'), *jigaē-* (*jī* 'live'), *dadā-/dāδ-/daδ-*, *pāfr-/pafr-* (*par* 'fill'), *mamn-* (*man* 'think'), *yaiiat-/yaēt-/yōit-* (*yat* 'occupy a position'), *vauuan-/vaon-* (*van* 'win'), *vauuac-/vaoc-* (*vac* 'say'), *vauuaz-/vaoz-* (*vaz* 'go, lead'), *vaēd-/vōid-* (*vid* 'find'), *vaorāz-* (*uruuāz* 'be glad'), *rar-* (*rā* 'bestow'), *susru-* (*sru* 'hear').

TABLE 25   *The perfect*

	a. Ind.act.	Ind.mid.	b. Subj.act.	Subj.mid.
1st **sg.**	jaɣauruua, *vaēdā*	susruiie	w.a.	w.a.
2nd	dadāθa, vauuaxδa, *vōistā*	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.
3rd	jaɣauruua, jaɣāra, vaēδa, å̄ŋha; *urūraost*	pafre, daiδe	vaēθaṯ	⁺pafrāite
3rd **du.**	yaētatarə	*mamnāitē*	w.a.	w.a.
1st **pl.**	sūsrūma, yaēθma	w.a.	w.a.	w.a.
2nd	w.a.	w.a.	*vaorāzaθā*	w.a.
3rd	irīriθarə, å̄ŋharə; *cikōitərəš*	⁺raire	vaēθəṇti, *iieiiən*	w.a.

	c. Opt.act.	Opt.mid.	d. Part.act.	Part.mid.
1st **sg.**	jaɣmiiąm	w.a.	irīriθuš-,	irīriθāna-
2nd	w.a.	jiɣaēša	vīδuuāh-/viduš-,	
3rd	vaoniiāṯ, å̄ṇ́hāṯ	w.a.	f. jaɣmūšī-	
3rd **du.**	å̄ṇ́hāṯ.təm	w.a.		
2nd **pl.**	w.a.	w.a.		
3rd	⁺daiδīn; baβriiąn	vaozirəm		

§33   Non-Finite and Nominal Forms

Some formations have a double nature, in that they simultaneously show properties of both verb and noun. Formally, they have nominal character in virtue of being declined or bearing specifically nominal suffixes, while they belong to the verbal system insofar as they are able to express tense, voice, and/or aspect.

These formations include infinitives, participles (which have already been discussed above; cf. §§ 30.1.e, 30.2.e), as well as various verbal nouns and adjectives. The most important formations will be treated in the following paragraphs.

1. The **infinitive**: The majority of formations categorized as infinitives show an ending *-ai (OAv. -ōi, YAv. -e), which matches the ending *-ai of the dat.sg. in nominal inflection (§ 18.1.7); hence, one can infer that the infinitive originally marked the goal of a verbal action. The Avestan infinitive occupies an intermediate position between the original use as a verbal noun (taking part in nominal inflection) and use as an impersonal verbal form (being incorporated into the verbal system).

The infinitive in *-diiāi* (Skt. *-dhyai*) is added to the root in the ZG (e.g., *srūidiiāi* to *sru* 'hear'), or to the present stem (e.g., *θrāiiōidiiāi* built on *θrāiia-* 'protect'). This suffix provides a middle voice infinitive. Other suffixes that are added either to the root or to the verbal stem are: *-tōi/-te*: *mrūite* 'to say', OAv. *stōi* 'to be'; *-uuanōi/-uuǎně*: OAv. *vīduuanōi* to *vid* (cf. the Gr. inf. suffix -ϝεναι, εἴδεναι, Cypriot δοϝεναι); *-uuōi/-uue*: OAv. *dāuuōi* 'to give'; the infinitive in *-he*: OAv. *vaocańhē* 'say' is formed from the present stem.

2. The verbal **action noun**, formed with the accented PIE suffix *-tí- and ZG of the root, is also found in Avestan with the same function: *kərəti-* 'act, deed' to *kar*, *maiti-* 'thought' to *man*. In Av., forms with FG of the root also occur, e.g., *xᵛarəti-* 'food' to *xᵛar*, which prove that the suffix remained productive until a late period. The majority of nomina agentis are attested in the dat.sg. *-aiai* (-ə̄e, -aiiaēca), and, given that the finality of the verbal action is thereby expressed, this formation comes very close to usage as an infinitive.

3. The **perfect passive participle** is formed with a suffix *-ta-* added to the root in the ZG: *kərəta-* 'done' to *kar*, *druxta-* 'tricked' to *druj*, *basta-* 'bound' to *baṇd*, *gata-* 'come' to *gam*. This formation continues the old PIE verbal adjective with ZG of the root and accented suffix *-tó-*: cf. Skt. *gatá-*, Gr. βατός, Lat. *uentus*, from PIE *$g^u m$-tó-* 'come'. However, the adjective *-ta-* was productive into younger stages of the language. Hence, forms with FG occur, to seṭ roots (i.e., in *-ā*), and to some roots whose ZG formally obscured its paradigmatic connection to the rest of the finite forms: *dāta-* 'put' to *dā* (cf. Skt. *hitá-* with ZG < *$d^h h_1$-tó-*), *rāta-* 'bestowed' to *rā*, *tašta-* 'constructed' to *taš*, *yašta-* 'honored' to *yaz* (cf. Skt. *iṣṭá-* with FG) and *baxta-* 'distributed' to *baj* (Skt. *bhaktá-*).

CHAPTER 4

Syntax

§ 34　Syntax

The functions of the various nominal and verbal formations are, in large part, described in the chapter on morphology. In this chapter, details that concern the functioning of the constituent elements in the phrase are the focus of discussion.

§ 35　Number

An important feature is agreement of the nom.pl.neut. with a verb in the singular, which is constistent in OAv., but only sporadic in YAv., which prefers the plural: Y 29.4 *saxᵛārə̄ ... yā zī vāuuərəzōi* (3.sg.perf.mid.ind. to *varz*) 'insults that have been made'. Avestan has preserved here an important archaism, in which Sanskrit, Greek, and also Hittite share.

Dual forms are usually found in three different situations: **1.** in conjunction with the number *duua-* 'two': Yt 5.131 *duua auruuaṇta yāsāmi* 'I ask for two coursers'; **2.** in relation to a natural pair: Yt 10.91 *frasnātaēibiia zastaēibiia* 'with both hands washed', OAv. Y 32.10 *vaēnaŋ́hē ašibiiā* 'in order to see with his eyes'; **3.** in a dvandva, i.e., a compound in which both members are coordinated with one another. Each member of the compound takes the dual: Y 9.4 *pasu vīra* 'cattle and men', *miθra ahura* 'Miθra and Ahura' (cf. Skt. *mitráváruṇā* 'Mitra and Varuna').

Old Av. always employs verbal forms in the dual to refer to two entities together; in Young Av., the dual is disappearing, gradually being substituted by the plural. The dual is, though, still regularly used to refer to natural pairs and in dvandvas: Y 12.5 *apərəsaētəm mazdåscā zaraθuštrascā* 'M. and Z. discussed'. The number 'two' usually takes plural forms or, in late texts (cf. § 40.2, 41.1), even the singular: Vd 2.41 *duua nara us.zaiieiṇti* 'two men are born'; Vd 7.52 *duua mainiiu rə̄na auua.stå̄ŋhaṯ* 'the two spirits will begin battle'.

§ 36   Case Syntax

1. The **nominative** is the case of the subject, as well as the case of any predication that refers to the subject. The nominative can also assume the function of the vocative, which has its own endings only in the singular. The **vocative** is used for appellative functions, and serves to directly address a referent. If several vocatives occur in a clause, they are usually coordinated asyndetically: *mazdā ašā* 'Mazdā and Aša!'. The **accusative** functions as the direct object of transitive verbs. Also used is the accusative of direction, in order to indicate the end or the direction of a verbal action: Y 46.1 *kąm ząm aiienī* 'to which land will I go?'. The accusative of (temporal or spatial) extension is also a common function: Y 65.5 *hąminəmca zaiianəmca* 'in summer and in winter', Vd 3.17 *θrigāim haca* 'three steps from'. Finally, the accusative of relation occurs: *cuuaṭ drājō* 'how long?', Yt 5.98 *ištīm səuuišta* 'mighty in heritage'. Meanwhile, constructions with a double accusative (some of doubtless antiquitiy) are not foreign to Av.: Y 11.5 *yō mąm taṭ draonō zināṭ vā trəfiiāṭ vā* 'who leaves me this share or robs me of it' (cf. Skt. *indro marutaḥ sahasram ajināt* 'Indra left a thousand to the Maruts'; OP *xšaçamšim adam adinam* 'I left the kingship to him').

2. The **genitive** is the case of nominal dependency, and thus serves to express an enormous range of functions (appurtenance, material, partitive, temporal, etc.), which are also present in the other IE languages: Y 4.23 *ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā̊* 'fire, son of Ahura Mazdā', Yt 10.98 *yō āsištō yazatanąm* 'who is the quickest among the Yazatas', Vd 9.2 *upa.θβaršti uruuaranąm* 'he cuts (a certain quantity) of plants'. On the other hand, the genitive also functions as the obligatory complement of many verbs (*is* 'provide', *xšā* 'order', *baj* 'apportion', etc.): Yt 17.21 *upa mē sraiiaŋʰha vāšahe* 'lean on my cart', Y 58.4 *fšūšō̄ carəkəmahī* 'we celebrate the cattle-herder'.

The **ablative** case has its own forms only in part (§ 14.15, 15.3, 16.6). The ablative refers to a point of departure (origin): Yt 17.13 *uštrā̊ŋhō ⁺uzaiiaṇtō zəmaṭ* 'camels that rise from the earth'. The ablative functions as the obligatory complement of many verbs (*nas* 'disappear', *rah* 'depart', *miθ* 'deprive', etc.): Y 9.28 *yastām xšaθāṭ mōiθaṭ* 'who deprives him of sovereignty'. The ablative is used especially with verbs of salvation, purification, and protection: Aog 57 *yahmaṭ haca naēciš buṇjaiiāṭ* 'from which no one may be saved'. An important further use is as the proper case for the second element of a comparison: Y 45.11 *nōiṭ mōi vāstā xšmaṭ aniiō* 'I have no other shepherd than you [pl.]'

3. The **dative** governs a referent to whom the verbal action is directed. It is used to indicate the person who is advantaged or disadvantaged by what occurs: Y 29.10 *aēibiiō aogō dātā* 'give them strength', Vd 15.12 *ptərəbiiō āstriieiti* 'he sins against his parents'; it also indicates that the person has a stake in the

outcome of the action (ethical dative): Y 45.5 *yōi mōi ahmāi səraošəm dąn* 'they who gave him obedience for me'. A temporal usage is also in evidence: Vd 4.45 *maiδiiāi asnąmca xšafnąmca* 'at midday and at midnight'.

The **instrumental** expresses a referent that participates in the verbal action with the subject or the object; this refererent can be instrumental proper, comitative, causative, or agentive: Y 57.10 *snaiθiša x^varəm jainti* 'with the weapon, he struck [him] a wound', Y 29.2 *yā drəguuō.dəbīš aēšəməm vādāiiōiṯ* 'who gives chase to anger along with the liars', Y 47.2 *ōiiā cistī* 'for (the sake of) this idea'. In quasi-adverbial use, the instrumental indicates a feature or characteristic: Yt 5.61 *mərəyahe kəhrpa* 'with the body of a bird'.

The **locative** governs a referent in which or even towards which the verbal action takes place. For example, Y 11.6 *ahmi nmāne zaiiåṇte* 'they will be born in this house', Y 50.4 *ā paiθī dəmānē* 'on the way to the house'. A temporal usage is also in evidence: Vd 21.3 *ušahuua bišaziiāṯ* 'he should heal [it] in the morning'.

§ 37   The Use of Verbal Moods

1. The present **indicative** expresses a real and current state of affairs, whether it be specific or general, whether a single or repeated action: Yt 17.17 *kō ahi yō mąm zbaiiehi* 'who are you who calls upon me?', Y 65.3 *vīspå imå āpō yå zəmā paiti frataciṇti* 'all these waters which run across the earth'. The perfect indicative refers to the result of an action in the past, or an action that contributed to the formation of a present state: Y 1.1 *niuuaēδaiiemi daθušō ... yō nō daδa* 'I worship on account of the creator ... who has created us', Y 9.1 *kō narə ahi yim azəm vīspahe aŋhāuš astuuatō sraēštəm dādarəsa* 'who, o man, are you, the most beautiful whom I have seen in all my mortal life?'

2. The present and aorist **injunctive** refer to a real past event, without any indication as to the perfectivity or imperfectivity of the verbal action. Moreover, there seems to have been no functional difference between the few aorist indicative forms and the aorist injunctive. The injunctive is the mood of narration *par excellence*; it is thus functionally equivalent to the imperfect of Sanskrit or Old Persian. It is used profusely in the great mythological and cosmogonic narratives, and in doctrinal and didactic texts: Y 19.1 *pərəsaṯ zaraθuštrō ahurəm mazdąm* 'Z. asked AM'. Independent of the mood of the main clause, the injunctive is always used in any subordinate clause that refers to an real past event. The injunctive is the mood employed in prohibitive statements (§ 39.2).

As was already mentioned in § 31, it is difficult to find unmistakable forms of the imperfect (such as, for example, forms belonging to *ah* 'be' or *i* 'go'). Moreover, its use does not seem to differ fundamentally from the use of the

injunctive, although some rare passages may be noted in which the imperfect expresses an action prior to the action expressed by the injunctive: Yt 5.68 *tąm yazata jāmāspō yaṱ spāδəm pairi.auuaēnaṱ* 'Jāmāspa sacrificed to him once he had caught sight of the army'.

3. The present and aorist **subjunctive** indicate an action that has not yet been initiated, and which will be actualized only if certain conditions hold. From this point of view, the subjunctive takes on a voluntative value (very close to a future) for the 1st pers. in main or independent clauses: Yt 19.47 *aētaṱ xᵛarənō haṇgrəfšāne* 'I want to seize that xᵛarənah'; in the 2nd pers., a strongly prescriptive (almost imperatival) value is observable: Vd 18.51 *iməm tē narəm nisrinaomi iməm mē narəm nisrāraiiå̊ upa sūrąm frašō.kərətīm* 'I entrust this man to you; return this man to me upon [the day of] the mighty frašō.kərəti'; in the 3rd pers. (sometimes also in the 1st), a consecutive (sequential) value, depending on a previous process, can be felt: Yt 1.9 *yazaēša mąm zaraθuštra ... jasāni te auuaŋhaēca rafnaŋhaēca azəm yō ahurō mazdå̊* 'make sacrifices to me, o Zarathustra ... I, who am Ahura Mazdā, will come to you in aid and assistance [of you]'; Vd 2.23 *θrižaṱca gə̄uš apa.jasāṱ* 'and a third of the cows will perish'.

The subjunctive is used to ask about an action which has not yet been initiated: Vd 8.12 *cāiiō āaṱ aēte maēsma aŋhən yaēibiiō frasnaiiåṇte varəså̊sca tanūmca* 'which are the (kinds of) urine with which hair and body should be washed?' The perfect subjunctive is a rare YAv. formation, which expresses prospective anteriority: Yt 8.39 *tištrīm yazamaide ... yō pairikå̊ titāraiieiti yå̊ uzå̊ŋhaṱ aŋrō mainiiuš* 'we worship Tištria ... who passes [i.e., kills] the Pairikas, which Angra Manyu would have sent up'.

4. The **optative** instantiates a number of disparate functions. **a.** Above all, the optative is used in a main or independent clause with direct speech, and its usage implies that the speaker wants for the verbal action to be realized by the interlocutor (cupitative): Yt 10.23 *apa nō haca ązaŋhaṱ miθra barōiš* 'bring us away from fear, o Miθra'. A related usage is the prescriptive optative, which is very common in the Vidēvdād: Vd 21.5 ˣ*uziiara uzīra huuarəxšaēta* 'arise, get up, o solar orb'. **b.** The optative also serves in the expression of comparisons and similies involving an imaginary action: Yt 8.55 *tištriiō ... pairikąm ādarəzaiieiti ... mąnaiiən ahe yaθa hazaŋrəm narąm ōim narəm ādarəzaiiōiṱ* 'Tištria holds the Pairikā like a thousand men would hold a single man'. **c.** Likewise, the present optative (almost always with the augment) functions as a past tense iterative. This usage has left traces in many Old, Middle, and Modern Iranian languages; this function could, therefore, go back to Proto-Iranian. Vd 19.27 *kuua tā dāθra paiti haŋjasəṇti mašiiō astuuaiṇti aŋhuuō hauuāi urune para.daiδiiāṱ* 'where do the donations go, which the mortal has been offering for his own spirit throughout his bony life?'

d. The aorist optative occurs only in direct speech. This usage, termed 'precative', seems to have been the product of a Proto-Indo-Iranian specialization: Y 70.4 *yaθa īža vācim nāšīma* 'because we would bear the word with the libation'.

e. The perfect optative has, as its primary function, the expression of the past irrealis: Yt 8.24 *yeiδi zī mā ... yazaiiaṇta, ... auui mąm auui.baβriiąm dasanąm aspanąm aojō* 'if they would have made a sacrifice to me ... I would have acquired the strength of ten horses'.

5. The **imperative** expresses orders and commands of an immediate character: Vd 2.4 *āaṭ mē gaēθå frāδaiia āaṭ mē gaēθå varǝδaiia* 'make my creatures prosper, make my creatures grow'.

§ 38   Clausal Syntax

1. In the Avestan manuscripts, no sign that serves as a marker of interrogation or exclamation appears. Nevertheless, wh-questions are usually introduced by an interrogative pronoun (cf. § 22.5) or adverb: OAv. *kadā*, YAv. *kaδa* 'when?'; *kaθǎ* 'how?'; OAv. *kū, kudā* 'where?'; YAv. *kudaṭ* 'from where?'; *kuθa* 'how?'; *kuθrā* 'where?', *k(a)uua* 'where?'. Yes/no-questions are usually accompanied by specific particles, e.g., *kaṭ* (Skt. *kát*): Vd 6.42 *kaṭ tā haoma ⁺yaoždaiiąn aŋhǝn* 'should these haomas be purified?'

2. Coordination. Two or more constituents or clauses can be conjoined using the enclitic particle *-cǎ* (Gr. -τε, Lat. *-que*) or the word *uta*: Y 57.3 *ahe raiia xᵛarǝnaŋhaca* 'through his wealth and abundance'. The particle *vā* introduces disjunctive coordination: Y 46.10 *nā gǝnā vā* 'man or woman'. The OAv. particle *aṭ, aṭcīṭ*, YAv. *āaṭ*, introduces a proposition that contrasts with what was previously said, while *aθǎ* indicates a consequence of a previous statement. Av. *zī* (Skt. *hí*) expresses causality, Vd 5.36 *juuō zī ... spǝṇtahe mainiiǝuš dāmanąm hąm.raēθβaiieiti* 'because (while it is) alive, it mingles with the creatures of the beneficient spirit'.

3. Subordination. Subordination is introduced by relative pronouns (§ 22.3) or by conjunctions.

a. In **explanatory** clauses, OAv. *hiiaṭ*, YAv. *yaṭ* (Skt. *yát*) or *yaθǎ* (Skt. *yáthā*) 'that; because, since' is normally used: Yt 5.34 *auuaṭ āiiaptǝm dazdi mē ... yaṭ bauuāni aiβi.vaniiå ažīm dahākǝm* 'do me this favor ... that I may be victor over Aži Dahāka'.—**Final** or **consecutive** clauses also begin with *hiiaṭ*/*yaṭ* or *yaθa* 'in order that; that, so that': Vd 3.32 *yaṭ yauuō pouruš bauuāṭ aδa mąθrǝm taδa mairiiāṭ* 'in order that the grain be plentiful, this mantra should now be recited'.

b. Concessive clauses are served by *yaṯciṯ* 'although' (Skt. *yác cid*): Yt 10.85 *yeńhe vāxš … vī hapta karšuuąn jasaiti yaṯciṯ nəmaŋha vācim baraiti* 'whose voice … spreads throughout the seven karšvars, although he raises his voice with reverence.'—**Comparative** clauses also begin with Av. *yaθā̆* 'like, as' (with correlatives *aθā̆*, *auuaθa*, etc.): Vd 2.32 *āaṯ yimō auuaθa kərənaoṯ yaθa dim išaṯ ahurō mazdā̊* 'then Yima did just as AM. commanded him'.

c. The formation of **conditional** clauses depends on the type of statement. The usual conjunction is *yezi*, but *hiiaṯ/yaṯ*, *yaθā̆* also appears. When dealing with a necessary relation (reality), the protasis usually occurs in the indicative and the apodosis in any mood other than the optative: Vd 18.76 *yezi azāite təm ahūm paiθiiāite yim ašaonąm* 'if he receives [the penance], then he will arrive to the existence of the followers of Aša'; *yeiδi zī huuarə nōiṯ uzuxšiieiti* 'if the sun does not rise'. An irrealis relationship is expressed using the conjunction *ye(i)δi (zī)* 'if' (Skt. *yádi*) with the perfect optative (§ 37.4.e): Yt 8.52 *yeiδi zī azəm nōiṯ daiδiiąm aom stārəm … pairika aŋhuuąm auuahisiδiiāṯ* 'if I had not created that star, the Pairika would have entered into existence.' A contingent relation is established through use of the optative in both the protasis and apodosis.

d. For **local** subordinate clauses, *yaθrā̆* (Skt. *yátra*) 'where', and again *yaθa*, are used: Y 10.4 *staomi zəmō yaθa raoδahe hubaoiδiš* 'I praise the earth where you grow fragrant'.—**Temporal** clauses are introduced with *hiiaṯ/yaṯ* or OAv. *yadā* (Skt. *yadā́*). Other temporal conjunctions with more or less specific meanings also exist: *yezī̆* 'as soon as': Yt 19.43 *yezi bauuāni pərənāiiu ząm caxrəm kərənauuāne* 'as soon as I become older, I will make the earth my wheel'; and also constructions such as *para ahmāṯ yaṯ* 'before', *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ* 'until' and 'while', *yauuatā* 'until, while', *āaṯ yaṯ* or *yauuaṯ* (Skt. *yā́vat* 'since'), *pasca yaṯ* 'after': Vd 16.8 *yezi nāirika vohunīš aiβi.vaēnāṯ yaṯ hē θrāiiō xšafna sacā̊ṇte … hē nišhiδaēta vīspəm ā ahmaṯ yaṯ hē caθβārō xšafna sacā̊ṇte* 'if a woman notices blood when three nights have passed … she should lie down until four nights pass'.

§ 39   Negation

1. The basic negative particle is *nōiṯ* 'not; neither, nor': Yt 15.16 *yimahe xšaθre nōiṯ aotəm ā̊ŋha nōiṯ garəməm* 'during the reign of Yima, there was neither cold nor heat'. A repeated negation can be carried out with the OAv. particle *naēdā*, YAv. *naēδa*: Y 11.6 *nōiṯ ahmi nmāne zānaite āθrauua naeδa raθaēštā naēδa vāstriiō fšuiiąs* 'in this house will be born neither a priest nor a charioteer nor a cattle-herding farmer'.

The forms *nōiṯ* and *naēδa* are built from the IE negative particle **neį*, which is attested in OP *naiy*, Lat. *nī*, OCS *ni-*. In Avestan, this particle is preserved in the first syllable of the indefinite pronoun *naēciš* 'no one, nothing': Y 43.6 *yə̄m naēciš dābaiieitī* 'whom no one deceives', Yt 1.6 *yaṯ mąm naēciš tauruuaiiāṯ* 'that no one defeat me'.

2. The particle *mā* (= Skt. *mā́*, Gr. μή) negates a command (with the imperative or the injunctive) or a desire (with the optative; equivalent to *nōiṯ*). In Av., an inhibitive sense predominates:[1] Yt 17.60 *mā auui asmanəm fraśusa* 'do not move towards heaven', H 2.17 *mā dim pərəsō yim pərəsahi* 'stop questioning him whom you question', Vd. 6.2 *māca tąm ząm kāraiiən mā āpō hərəzaiiən* 'and do not let them sow this land, let them not run water (through it)'; Y 31.17 *mā əuuīduuå aipī.dōbāuuaiiaṯ* 'that the ignorant one ceases to lie'.

3. To negate a noun or an adjective, the privative prefix *a/an/ana-* is frequently used; its functions are similar to the prefixes *un-* (inherited Germanic), *in-* (borrowed from Latin and Romance languages), and *a-/an-* (borrowed from Greek) in English. The origin of all three lies in the IE privative **n̥-*, which is attested in Gothic *un-*, Latin *in-*, Gr. α-/αν-, etc. Just as in Greek, IIr. shows two variants, **aC-* (preconsonantal) and **anV-* (prevocalic): Av. *aməša-*, Skt. *amŕ̥ta-* 'immortal' from **n̥-mr̥-ta-*, Av. *an-aša-* 'unmilled' from **n̥-árta-*. This prefix was still productive in Young Avestan. Any participle could be negated using this prefix: *anauuaŋᵛhabdəmna-* 'who does not not remain asleep' (pres.part.mid. of *auua-xᵛabda-*), *afrataṯkuuah-* 'which does not flow' (perf.part. *fra-ta-tk-*).

§ 40   The System Changes

Not all Young Av. texts represent the same phase of the language. Indeed, they were composed in a living language, subject to the same processes of change as any other language. Some examples that illustrate how the system has undergone simplification have already been pointed out above (cf., e.g., the diffusion of the ablative *-ṯ* under § 19.1.6). Other innovations include the following:

1. For purely formal reasons, feminine *ā*-stems come to follow the inflection of neuters in *-ah*, on account of the coincidence of *-å* as the ending of the nom.acc.pl. in both inflectional types: YAv. *haēnā-* 'army' is twice found

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[1] Recall that prohibition is done in Skt. with the particle *mā́* and the aorist injunctive: *mā́ no rīriṣaḥ* 'do not let us suffer harm'. Cf. further Gr. μὴ ποίει τοῦτο 'do not do that!' versus μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο 'refrain from doing that!'.

inflected as a neuter, cf. Y 57.25 *pairi druuaṯbiiō haēnābiiō*, where the form *dru-uaṯbiiō* leaves no doubt as to the neuter gender of *haēnābiiō*.

The neut. noun *vąθβa-* 'herd' (from **van* 'win') attests an inflection in *-ā* in late texts. This inflection is probably due to the fact that *vąθβa-* is primarily used as a collective ('the herds' → 'the livestock'), whose nom.acc.pl. *vąθβa* is formally identical to the nom.sg. of an *ā*-stem.

The acc.pl. *paθā̊* to *paṇt-/paθ-* 'path', instead of the original *paθō* (cf. ch. 3, fn. 2), supplies another example. The substitution in this case probably proceeds from the acc.sg. *paṇtąm*, which was interpreted as the acc.sg. of a fem. in *-ā*. In turn, the ending of the acc.pl.f. *-ā̊* was, by extension, applied to the weak stem *paθ-*, from which *paθā̊* arose.

2. A further semantic motivation has promoted the development of the m. stem *raθaēštā-* 'driver, charioteer' (Skt. *ratheṣṭhā́-*) into a nomen agentis *raθaēštar-*. Since the nom.sg. of the root noun and of the nomina agentis (e.g. *dātā* 'giver') had an identical ending, the necessary formal condition was available for a change of inflectional type, and was sustained by semantic affinity: acc. *raθaēštārəm*, nom.pl. *raθaēštārō*; later, with thematicization: gen.sg. *raθaēštārahe*, acc.pl. *raθaēštārāsca*.

A semantic reason for morphological change is also evident from the tendency, found in late texts, not to decline numerals: Vd 14.91 *maṯ θrisąs aiiō.aɣrāiš* 'with thirty metal spikes', Vd 4.11 *tišrō sata upāzananąm* 'three hundred blows'. These cases follow the model of the majority of the numerals (§ 21.1), which were always indeclinable.

Texts

§ 41   Introduction

The Avestan texts, which have been transmitted only in manuscript form, are traditionally divided into several books, which constitute a single canon for the believers who preserved the recited text. Each book is usually subdivided into chapters. The most extensive book is the *Yasna* ('Liturgical Prayer'), which is in turn divided into 72 chapters or *hāitis*; the book principally contains texts for the yasna liturgy, i.e., prayers and mantras that were recited during the celebration of the religious ceremony. In the middle of the *Yasna* lie the *gāθās* ('Gathas, songs') of Zarathustra and the *Yasna haptaŋhāiti* ('the Yasna of Seven Chapters'), the only texts in Old Avestan.

Other purely ritual books include collections of lesser scope, such as the *Vīsperad* ('All of the Ratus', 24 chapters), the *Nyāyišn* ('Elegy', 5 chapters), the *Gāh* ('Parts of the Day', 5 chapters), the *Sīrōza* ('The 30 Days', 2 chapters), and the *Āfrīngān* ('Thanks', 4 chapters). The *Yašt* ('Hymns', 21 chapters) are each dedicated to an Avestan deity and are, in large part, written in poetic form, with verses of eight syllables. Their content is mythological, at times encomiastic, and thus allows us to see into the background in which Mazdayasnianism came into being.

The *Vīdēvdād* ('The Anti-Demon Law', 22 chapters) narrates the origin of the world and of humanity. Later, the book turns to the enumeration of religious rules and laws that a believer must observe in order to be a good Mazdayasnian. The book is composed in prose with some small poetic remnants.

Some relatively minor fragments, such as the *Nīrangestān* ('Cultic Prescriptions'), the *Pursišnīhā* ('Questions'), the *Hādōxt Nask* ('Book of Scriptures'), and the *Frahang ī ōīm* (an Avestan-Pahlavi dictionary), also exist, but they have passed through a transmission even more deficient than the rest of the texts.

§ 41.1   *Young Avestan Texts*

A. Yašt 8 relates the battle between the star Tištria and the demon Apaoša. Tištria is the star Sirius, which announced the arrival of the rainy season.

Yt 8.13 paoiriiå dasa xšapanō | spitama
zaraθuštra | tištriiō raēuuå
xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | kəhrpəm raēθβaiieiti |
raoxšnušuua vazəmnō | narš
kəhrpa paṇca.dasaŋhō | xšaētahe
spiti.dōiθrahe | bərəzatō auui.amahe
| amauuatō hunairiiåṇcō

The first ten nights, o Spitama
Zarathustra, splendid, beautiful
Tištria mixes his body flying among
the lights in the form of a fifteen
year-old man, radiant, with white
eyes, tall, very strong, vigorous,
dextrous.

8.14 taδa aiioš yaθa paoirīm | vīrəm
auui.yå bauuaiti | taδa aiiaoš yaθa
paoirīm | vīrəm auui.amō aēiti | taδa
aiiaoš yaθa paoirīm | vīrəm ərəzušạm
adaste

He is then of the age when the girdle
first comes onto a young man. He is
then of the age when strength first
comes into a young man. He is then
of the age when a young man is given
to puberty.

8.15 hō iθra viiāxmaniiete | hō iθra
pərəsaniieiti | kō mạm nūrạm
frāiiazāite | gaomauuaitibiiō
haomauuaitibiiō zaoθrābiiō |
kahmāi azəm daδạm | vīriiạm īštīm
vīriiạm vạθβạm | hauuaheca urunō
yaoždāθrəm | nūrạm ahmi yesniiasca
| vahmiiasca aŋᵛhe astuuaite | ašåṭ
haca yaṭ vahištāṭ

He now proclaims, he now asks:
"Who will now honor me with
libations of milk and haoma? To
whom will I give wealth in men, a
flock of men, purification of his own
spriti? Now I am to be worshipped
and to be praised for the bony life
according to the best truth."

8.16 bitiiå dasa xšapanō | spitama
zaraθuštra | tištriiō raēuuå
xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | kəhrpəm raēθβaiieiti |
raoxšnušuua vazəmnō | gə̄uš kəhrpa
zaraniiō.sruuahe

The second ten nights, o Spitama
Zarathustra, splendid, beautiful
Tištria mixes his body flying among
the lights in the form of a bull having
golden horns.

8.17 hō iθra viiāxmaniiete | hō iθra
pərəsaniieiti | kō mạm nūrạm
frāiiazāite | gaomauuaitibiiō
haomauuaitibiiō zaoθrābiiō |
kahmāi azəm daδạm | vīriiạm īštīm
vīriiạm vạθβạm | hauuaheca urunō
yaoždāθrəm | nūrạm ahmi yesniiasca
| vahmiiasca aŋᵛhe astuuaite | ašåṭ
haca yaṭ vahištāṭ

He now proclaims, he now asks:
"Who will now honor me with
libations of milk and haoma? To
whom will I give wealth in men, a
flock of men, purification of his own
sprit? Now I am to be worshipped
and to be praised for the bony life
according to the best truth."

8.18 θritiiå dasa xšapanō | spitama
zaraθuštra | tištriiō raēuuå
xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | kəhrpəm raēθβaiieiti
| raoxšnušuua vazəmnō | aspahe
kəhrpa aurušahe | srīrahe
zairi.gaošahe | zaraniiō.aiβiδānahe

The third ten nights, o Spitama
Zarathustra, splendid, beautiful
Tištria mixes his body flying among
the lights in the form of a white
horse, lovely, having yellow ears,
having a golden bridle.

8.19 hō iθra viiāxmaniiete | hō iθra
pərəsaniieiti | kō mąm nūrąm
frāiiazāite | gaomauuaitibiiō
haomauuaitibiiō zaoθrābiiō |
kahmāi azəm daδąm | vīriiąm īštīm
vīriiąm vąθβąm | hauuaheca urunō
yaoždāθrəm | nūrąm ahmi yesniiasca
| vahmiiasca aŋᵛhe astuuaite | ašāṯ
haca yaṯ vahištāṯ

He now proclaims, he now asks:
"Who will now honor me with
libations of milk and haoma? To
whom will I give wealth in men, a
flock of men, purification of his own
sprit? Now I am to be worshipped
and to be praised for the bony life
according to the best truth."

8.20 āaṯ paiti auuāiti | spitama zaraθuštra
| tištriiō raēuuå xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | auui
zraiiō vourukašəm | aspahe kəhrpa
aurušahe | srīrahe zairi.gaošahe |
zaraniiō.aiβiδānahe

Then he descends, o Spitama
Zarathustra, splendid, beautiful
Tištria, towards the lake Vourukaša,
in the form of a white horse, lovely,
having yellow ears, having a golden
bridle.

8.21 ā dim paiti.yąš nižduuaraiti | daēuuō
yō apaošō | aspahe kəhrpa sāmahe |
kauruuahe kauruuō.gaošahe
| kauruuahe kauruuō.barəšahe |
kauruuahe kauruuō.dūmahe | daγahe
aiβiδātō.tarštōiš

The demon Apaoša runs against him
in pursuit, in the form of a black
horse, hairless with hairless ears,
hairless with a hairless back,
hairless with a hairless tail, reddish,
frighteningly harnessed.

8.22 hąm tāciṯ bāzuš baratō | spitama
zaraθuštra | tištriiasca raēuuå
xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | daēuuasca yō apaošō |
tå yūiδiiaθō spitama zaraθuštra
| θri.aiiarəm θri.xšaparəm | ā
dim bauuaiti aiβi.aojå | ā dim
bauuaiti aiβi.vaniiå | daēuuō yō
apaošō | tištrīm raēuuaṇtəm
xᵛarənaŋᵛhaṇtəm

The two intermingle their legs, o
Spitama Zarathustra, splendid,
beautiful Tištria and Apaoša the
demon. They fight, o Spitama
Zarathustra, for three days and three
nights. He becomes overwhelming
in might, he becomes victorious,
Apaoša the demon over splendid,
beautiful Tištria.

8.23 apa dim aδāṯ viieiti | zraiiaŋhaṯ haca vourukaṣāṯ | hāθrō.masaŋhəm aδβanəm | sādrəm uruuištrəmca nimrūite | tištriiō raēuuå xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | sādrəm mē ahura mazda | uruuištrəm āpō uruuaråsca | baxtəm daēne māzdaiiesne | nōiṯ mąm nūrąm mašiiāka aoxtō.nāmana yasna yazəṇte | yaθa aniie yazatåŋhō | aoxtō.nāmana yasna yaziṇti

He chases him away from there, from the lake Vourukaṣa, for the distance of a *hāθra* in length. "Defeat and retreat!" utters splendid, beautiful Tištria. "Defeat to me, o Ahura Mazda, retreat, o waters and plants, disgrace, o Mazdayasnian religion! Men do not now worship me with an invocatory sacrifice, as the other gods are worshiped with an invocatory sacrifice."

8.24 yeiδi zī mā mašiiāka | aoxtō.nāmana yasna yazaiiaṇta | yaθa aniie yazatåŋhō | aoxtō.nāmana yasna yazinti | auui mąm auui baβriiąm | dasanąm aspanąm aojō | dasanąm uštranąm aojō | dasanąm gauuąm aojō | dasanąm gairinąm aojō | dasanąm apąm nāuuaiianąm aojō

"For if men had worshiped me with an invocatory sacrifice as the other gods are worshiped with an invocatory sacrifice, then I would have obtained the might of ten horses, the might of ten camels, the might of ten bulls, the might of ten mountains, the might of ten abundant waters."

8.25 azəm yō ahurō mazdå | tištrīm raēuuaṇtəm xᵛarənaŋhaṇtəm | aoxtō.nāmana yasna yaze | auui dim auui.barāmi | dasanąm aspaną aojō | dasanąm uštranąm aojō | dasanąm gauuąm aojō | dasanąm gairinąm aojō | dasanąm apąm nāuuaiianąm aojō

I, Ahura Mazdā, worship splendid, beautiful Tištria with an invocatory sacrifice. To him I bring the might of ten horses, the might of ten camels, the might of ten bulls, the might of ten mountains, the might of ten abundant waters.

Yt 8.26 and 8.27 = Yt 8.20 and 8.21, respectively.

8.28 hąm tāciṯ bāzuš baratō | spitama zaraθuštra | tištriiasca raēuuå xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | daēuuasca yō apaošō | tå yūiδiiaθō spitama zaraθuštra | ā rapiθβinəm zruuanəm | ā dim bauuaiti aiβi.aojå | ā dim bauuaiti aiβi.vaniiå | tištriiō raēuuå xᵛarənaŋᵛhå | daēūm yim apaošəm

The two intermingle their legs, o Spitama Zarathustra, splendid, beautiful Tištria and Apaoša the demon. They fight, o Spitama Zarathustra, until midday. To him great might comes, to him comes victory, splendid, beautiful Tištria over Apaoša the demon.

8.29   apa dim aδāt̰ viieiti | zraiiaŋhat̰ haca vourukaṣāt̰ | hāθrō.masaŋhəm aδβanəm | uštatātəm nimrauuaite | tištriiō raēuuå x^varənaŋ^vhå | ušta mē ahura mazda | ušta āpō uruuaråsca | ušta daēne māzdaiiesne | ušta ā bauuāt̰ daṅhauuō | us vō apąm aδauuō | apaiti.ərətå jasåṇti | aš.dānunąmca yauuanąm | kasu.dānunąmca vāṣtranąm | gaēθanąmca astuuaitinąm

He chases him away from there, from the lake Vourukaṣa, for the distance of a *hāθra* in length. "Good fortune!" utters splendid, beautiful Tištria. "Good fortune to me, Ahura Mazda, good fortune, o waters and plants, good fortune, o Mazdayasnian religion! There will be good fortune, o countries! Your water canals will run over unimpeded, (those) of the wheat of plump grain, (those) of the meadows of fine grain, and (those) of the bony creatures."

B. One of the most important animals in the Avesta is the dog. Chapter 13 of the *Vīdēvdād* enumerates the prescriptions that believers must observe regarding the animal.

> Vd 13.12 dātarə *gaēθanąm astuuaitinąm aṣāum* yō spānəm jaiṇti yim pasuš.haurum frazābaoδaŋhəm snaθəm vīkərət̰.uštānəm: kā hē asti ciθa. āat̰ mraot̰ ahurō mazdå: ašta sata upāzananąm upāzōit̰ aspahe aštraiia ašta sata sraošō.caranaiia
>
> Creator of the bony world, true one, he who strikes a blow on a shepherd dog which takes away (its) consciousness, which cuts away (its) life: with what is he punished? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: 800 lashes with the whip, 800 with the scourge, will be imposed on him.
>
> 13.13 dātarə *etc.* yō spānəm jaiṇti yim viš.haurum frazābaoδaŋhəm snaθəm vīkərət̰.uštānəm: kā hē asti ciθa. āat̰ mraot̰ ahurō mazdå: hapta sata upāzananąm upāzōit̰ aspahe aštraiia ašta hapta sraošō.caranaiia
>
> Creator of the bony world, true one, he who strikes a blow on a guard dog which takes away (its) consciousness, which cuts away (its) life: with what is he punished? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: 700 lashes with the whip, 700 with the scourge, will be imposed on him.
>
> 13.14 dātarə *etc.* yō spānəm jaiṇti yim vohunazgəm frazābaoδaŋhəm snaθəm vīkərət̰.uštānəm: kā hē asti ciθa. āat̰ mraot̰ ahurō mazdå: xšuuaš sata *etc.*
>
> Creator of the bony world, true one, he who strikes a blow on a hunting dog which takes away (its) consciousness, which cuts away (its) life: with

what is he punished? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: 600 lashes with the whip, 600 with the scourge, will be imposed on him.

13.15 dātarə *etc*. yō spānəm jaiṇti yim taurunəm frazābaoδaŋhəm snaθəm vīkərət.uštānəm: kā hē asti ciθa. āaṭ mraoṭ ahurō mazdā: paṇca sata *etc*.

Creator of the bony world, true one, he who strikes a blow on a young dog which takes away (its) consciousness, which cuts away (its) life: with what is he punished? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: 500 lashes with the whip, 500 with the scourge, will be imposed on him.

13.16 hāu jažaoš hāu vīzaoš hā sukurunahe hāu ˣurupōiš tiži.dātahe hāu ˣraopōiš ˣyaonō.xᵛaptahe hāu vīspanąm spəṇtō.mainiiauuanąm spaciθranąm aniia udra upāpa

This (is the punishment for the death) of a hedgehog, this (…) of a *vīzu*, this (…) of a porcupine, this (…) of a weasel having sharp teeth, this (…) of a fox asleep in its den, this (…) of all the canines of the beneficient spirit, other than the aquatic otter.[1]

13.17 dātarə *etc*. kuua asti spā pasuš.hauruuō dāitiiō.gātuš. āaṭ mraoṭ ahurō mazdā: yō yūjiiastīm haca gaēθābiiō parāiti sraošəmnō tāiiūš vəhrkəmca

Creator *etc*., where is it that the shepherd dog is in its proper place? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: (with him) who goes a *yūjiiasti* in length from the herds, listening for thieves and the wolf.

13.18 dātarə *etc*. kuua asti spā viš.hauruuō dāitiiō.gātuš. āaṭ mraoṭ ahurō mazdā: yō hāθrō.masaŋhəm aδβanəm haca vīžibiiō parāiti sraošəmnō tāiiūš vəhrkəmca

Creator *etc*., where is it that the guard dog is in its proper place? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: (with him) who goes the distance of a *hāθra* in length from the settlement, listening for thieves and the wolf.

13.19 dātarə *etc*. kuua asti spā vohunazgō dāitiiō.gātuš. āaṭ mraoṭ ahurō mazdā: yō naēcim isaiti hunaranąm tanuiie isaite θrāθrəm

Creator *etc*., where is it that the hunting dog is in its proper place? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: (with him) who seeks no skill, (but) requires protection for his body.

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1   The punishment for the death of an otter is more severe, and is addressed in Vd 14.

13.20 dātarə *etc.* yō spānəm tarō.piθβəm daste yim pasuš.haurum, cuuat̰ aētaēş̌ąm š̌iiaoθnanąm āstāraiieiti. āat mraot̰ ahurō mazdā̊: yaθa aētahmi aŋhuuō yat̰ astuuaiṇti fratəmō.nmānahe nmānō.paitīm paiti tarō.piθβəm daiθiiāt, aθa āstriieiti.

Creator *etc.*, he who leaves a shepherd dog without sufficient food, how much does he sin (on account of) these actions? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: as if in this life, which is bony, the lord of a foremost house were left without sufficient food, he sins that much.

13.21 dātarə *etc.* yō spānəm tarō.piθβəm daste yim višhaurum, cuuat̰ aētaēş̌ąm š̌iiaoθnanąm āstāraiieiti. āat mraot̰ ahurō mazdā̊: yaθa aētahmi aŋhuuō yat̰ astuuaiṇti maδəmō.nmānahe nmānō.paitīm paiti tarō.piθβəm daiθiiāt, aθa āstriieiti.

Creator *etc.*, he who leaves a guard dog without sufficient food, how much does he sin (on account of) these actions? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: as if in this life, which is bony, the lord of a middling house were left without sufficient food, he sins that much.

13.22 dātarə *etc.* yō spānəm tarō.piθβəm daste yim vohunazgəm, cuuat̰ aētaēş̌ąm š̌iiaoθnanąm āstāraiieiti. āat mraot̰ ahurō mazdā̊: narəm bōit̰ iδa aṣ̌auuanəm jasəṇtəm ahmiia nmāne mat̰ auuabiiō daxštābiiō yaθa āθrauua paiti tarō.piθβəm daiθiiāt̰ aθa āstriieiti

Creator *etc.*, he who leaves a hunting dog without sufficient food, how much does he sin (on account of) these actions? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: as if in this life, which is bony, no less than a truthful man who enters into his house with his appearance like a priest were left without sufficient food, he sins that much.

13.23 dātarə *etc.* yō spānəm tarō.piθβəm daste yim taurunəm, cuuat̰ aētaēş̌ąm š̌iiaoθnanąm āstāraiieiti. āat mraot̰ ahurō mazdā̊: yaθa aētahmi aŋhuuō yat̰ astuuaiṇti apərənāiiūkəm dahmō.kərətəm š̌iiaoθnāuuarəzəm vərəziiāt̰ š̌iiaoθnəm paiti tarō.piθβəm daiθiiāt̰ aθa āstriieiti

Creator *etc.*, he who leaves a young dog without sufficient food, how much does he sin (on account of) these actions? Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: as if in this life, which is bony, a working child, the offspring of a *dahma* who does work, were left without sufficient food, he sins that much.

(Vd 13.24–27 lays out the punishment for the offenses commited in Vd 13.20–23, as 200, 90, 70, and 50 lashes, respectively.)

13.28 aētəm zī aētahmi aŋhuuō yaṱ astuuaiṇti spitama zaraθuštra, spəṇ-
tahe mainiiə̄uš dāmaṇąm āsištəm zauruuānəm upāiti yaṱ spānō yōi
hištəṇte axᵛarō upa xᵛaraṇtəm parō spasānō əuuiṇdānō, parō xšuuisca
āzūitišca gə̄uš maṱ baratu xᵛarəθanąm sūnahe, aēuua he dāitiiō.piθβəm

Because in this life, which is bony, o Spitama Zarathustra, the fastest
among the creatures of the beneficient spirit to go into old age, as regards
dogs, are those which stand without eating alongside one who is eating,
lying in wait without receiving anything. Bring milk and fat along with
meat as the food of the dog. That is its proper food.

13.29 dātarə *etc.* yat ahmi nmāne yaṱ mązdaiiasnōiš spā auuacå vā bauuaṱ
aδāitiiō.xratuš, kuθa tē vərəziiąn aēte yōi mazdaiiasna

Creator *etc.*, if in a house which is of a Mazdayasnian there is a mute
dog [scil. a dog that bites], lacking proper judgement, how shall those
Mazdayasnians act here?

13.30 āaṱ mraoṱ ahurō mazdå: auua hē baraiiən tāštəm dāuru upa tąm
manaoθrīm, stamanəm hē aδāṱ niiāzaiiən ašti.masō xraoždduuahe biš
aētauuatō varəduuahe.

Thus spoke Ahura Mazdā: they shall place a cut piece of wood about
its neck, they shall close shut its mouth with this, an *ašti* in length in case
of a hard piece, twice of that in length in case of a soft piece.

13.31 aētahmāṱciṱ nidarəzaiiən, fra hīmciṱ nidarəzaiiən yezi nōiṱ spā
auuacå vā aδāitiiō.xratuš pasūm vā narəm vā raēšaiiāṱ

They shall tie it [scil. the wood] on it [scil. the mouth], they shall secure
him with it, so that the mute dog lacking proper judgment does not harm
the livestock or a man.

§ 41.2   *The Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*
In the middle of the Yasna (chapters 35 to 41) is found the only OAv. text in prose
that we possess. Its liturgical style is marked by parallelism and repetition.

Y 37.1–3 iθā āṱ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdąm, yə̄ gąmcā ašəmcā dāṱ, apascā
dāṱ uruuarå̄scā vaŋᵛhīš, raocå̄scā dāṱ būmīmca vīspācā vohū | ahiiā
xšaθrācā mazōnācā hauuapaŋhāiscā. tə̄m aṱ yasnanąm pauruuatātā yaza-
maidē, yōi gə̄uš hacā šiieiṇtī | tə̄m aṱ āhūiriiā nāmə̄nī mazdā.varā
⁺spəṇtō.təmā yazamaidē. tə̄m ahmākāiš ⁺azdəbīšcā uštānāiscā yaza-
maidē. tə̄m ašāunąm frauuašīš narąmcā nāirinąmcā yazamaidē.

So now we worship Ahura Mazda, who created the cow and the truth, (who) created the waters and the good plants, (who) created the lights and the earth and all good things | through his control and greatness and skillfulness. We worship him with the excellence of the sacrifices that dwell alongside the cow. | We worship him with the Ahurian names, which Mazdā chooses, the most beneficient ones. We worship him with our bodies and lives. We worship him in the Fravašis of the truthful ones, of the men and of the women.

§ 41.3 *The Gathas (Gāθās)*

Chapters 28–34, 43–51, and 53 contain the Gathas, which are poetic texts in various meters making a total of 855 verses. As regards their content and language, the Gathas represent the oldest form of Avestan. Given that Zarathustra speaks in the first person in some poems, and on account of the special religious content of the texts, it is thought that the Gathas may have been composed by the prophet Zarathustra himself. Although such a claim is unverifiable, the value of the Gathas for Iranian religious history and for comparative linguistics is, on all points, inestimable. It should be kept in mind that the form of the verses, and the compact and metaphorical style employed therein, makes the Gathas almost always difficult to interpret.

In Yasna 43, Zarathustra tells his god Ahura Mazdā how he received his prophetic calling from the Beneficient Spirit. Each strophe contains five verses of 4 + 7 syllables.

43.5 spəṇtəm aṱ θβā mazdā mə́ŋ́hī ahurā | hiiaṱ θβā aŋhə̄uš zą̄θōi darəsəm paouruuīm | hiiaṱ dā̊ śiiaoθanā mīždauuą̄n yācā uxδā | akəm akāi vaṇᵛhīm ašīm vaŋhauuē | θβā hunarā dāmōiš uruuaēsē apə̄mē

I realized that you are beneficent, o Ahura Mazdā, because I see you as the first one in the generation of existence, because you establish deeds and words as having prizes: bad for the bad, a good reward for the good, through your skill, at the final turn of creation.

43.6 yahmī spəṇtā θβā mainiiū uruuaēsē jasō | mazdā xšaθrā ahmī vohū manaŋhā | yehiiā śiiaoθanāiš gaēθā̊ ašā frādəṇtē | aēibiiō ratūš sə̄ŋghaitī ārmaitiš | θβahiiā xratə̄uš yə̄m naēciš dābaiieitī.

At the turn to which you come through your beneficent spirit, o Mazdā, by your power, I am with good thought, through whose deeds the creatures prosper along with truth. Right-mindedness explains to them the judgments of your thinking, which no one can deceive.

43.7   spəṇtəm aṱ θβā mazdā mə̄ŋ́hī ahurā |
        hiiaṱ mā vohū pairī.jasaṱ manaŋhā |
        pərəsaṱca mā ciš ahī kahiiā ahī | kaθā
        aiiarə daxšārā fərasaiiāi dīšā | aibī
        θβāhū gaēθāhū tanušucā

I realized that you are beneficient, o
AM, when he surrounds me with
good thought and asks: "Who are
you? Whose are you? Why, o daxšārā,
would you submit some day to
questioning regarding your creatures
and yourself?"

43.8   aṱ hōi aojī zaraθuštrō paouruuīm |
        haiθiiō duuaēšå hiiaṱ isōiiā
        drəguuāitē | aṱ ašāunē rafənō
        x́iiə̄m aojōŋhuuaṱ | hiiaṱ ⁺ā ⁺būštīš
        vasasə.xšaθrahiiā diiā | yauuaṱ ā θβā
        mazdā staomī ufiiācā

I respond to him then, first (I am)
Zarathustra. And that I being
truthful, would seek hostilities
against the liar. Thus I would be a
mighty support to the truthful, if I
might gain the adornments of the
one who rules according to his own
will, inasmuch as I praise and extol
you, o M.

43.9   spəṇtəm aṱ θβā mazdā mə̄ŋ́hī ahurā |
        hiiaṱ mā vohū pairī.jasaṱ manaŋhā |
        ahiiā fərasə̄m kahmāi vīuuīduiiē vašī
        | aṱ ā θβahmāi āθrē rātə̨m nəmaŋhō |
        ašahiiā mā yauuaṱ isāi mainiiāi

I realized that you are beneficient, o
AM, when he surrounds me with
good thought (and asks me): "For
whom do you wish to examine the
consultation of this?"—"For your fire,
a gift of reverence, for the truth, I will
understand as much as I can."

43.10   aṱ tū mōi dāiš ašə̨m hiiaṱ mā
        zaozaomī | ārmaitī hacimnō īṱ
        ārəm | pərəsācā nå yā tōi ə̄hmā
        parštā | parštə̄m zī θβā ⁺yaθənā taṱ
        ə̄mauuatą̈m | hiiaṱ θβā xšaiiąs aēšəm
        diiāṱ ə̄mauuaṇtəm

Show me then the truth that I
continue to call to myself—in the
company of right-mindedness I have
come for it—and ask us what has
been asked to us by you, for what is
asked by your strength is like that of
the strong, if the ruling one may
make you vigorous and strong

43.11   spəṇtəm aṱ θβā mazdā mə̄ŋ́hī
        ahurā | hiiaṱ mā vohū pairī.jasaṱ
        manaŋhā | hiiaṱ xšmā uxδāiš dīdaŋ́hē
        paouruuīm | sādrā mōi są̈s mašiiaēšū
        zarazdāitiš | taṱ vərəziieidiiāi hiiaṱ
        mōi mraotā vahištəm

I realized that you are beneficient, o
AM, when he surrounds me with
good thought. When I learn of the
first thing through your [pl.] words,
faith in mortals seems disappointing,
in order to carry out that which you
tell me is best.

43.12 hiiaṭcā mōi mraoš aṣ̌əm jasō
frāxšnənē | aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā
pairiiaoɣžā | ⁺uzərəidiiāi parā hiiaṭ
mōi ā.jimaṭ | səraošō aṣ̌ī mązā.raiiā
hacimnō | yā vī aṣ̌īš rānōibiiō sauuōi
[vī]dāiiāṭ

And when you tell me "you reach truth in your foresight," then you do not impose on me things that can be disobeyed, so that I arise before obedience will come to me, accompanied by reward having great wealth, who will distribute rewards on both sides in abundance.

43.13 spəṇtəm aṭ θβā mazdā mə̄ńhī ahurā |
hiiaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manaŋhā |
arəθā vōizdiiāi kāmahiiā tə̄m mōi
dātā | darəgahiiā yaoš yə̄m vå naēciš
dārəšt itē | vairiiå stōiš yā θβahmī
xšaθrōi vācī

I realized that you are beneficient, o AM, when he surrounds me with good thought, to achieve the aspirations of (my) desire, you give me that of a long life, which no one holds you [pl.] to go (through with), that of a desirable existence, which is said to be within your control.

43.14 hiiaṭ nā friiāi ⁺vaēdəmnō isuuā daidīṭ
| maibiiō mazdā tauuā rafənō
frāxšnənəm | hiiaṭ θβā xšaθrā
aṣ̌āṭ hacā frąštā | ⁺uzərəidiiāi azə̄
sarədanå sə̄nghahiiā | maṭ tāiš vīspāiš
yōi tōi mąθrå marəṇtī

Because a man who receives it and has it available would give it to a friend, (give) me your forethoughtful support, o Wisdom. Because (this) is attained with your rule in the company of truth, in order that I rise up together with all those who memorize your mantras, to expel those who challenge your teaching.

43.15 spəṇtəm aṭ θβā mazdā mə̄ńhī ahurā |
hiiaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manaŋhā |
daxšaṭ uśiiāi tušnāmaitis vahištā
| nōiṭ nā pourūš drəguuatō x̌iiāṭ
cixšnušō | aṭ tōi vīspə̄ṇg aŋgrə̄ṇg
aṣ̌aonō ādarə̄

I realized that you are beneficient, o AM, when he surrounds me with good thought. A peaceful mind teaches one to say what is best; a man should not wish to satisfy the many liars. These ones say that all the wicked ones are truthful.

43.16 aṭ ahurā huuō mainiiūm zaraθuštrō |
vərəṇtē mazdā yastē cišcā spə̄ništō |
astuuaṭ aṣ̌əm x̌iiāṭ uštānā aojōŋhuuaṭ
| xᵛə̄ṇg darəsōi xšaθrōi x̌iiāṭ ārmaitiš |
aṣ̌īm šiiaoθanāiš vohū daidīṭ
manaŋhā

O Ahura, this Zarathustra chooses the spirit, o Mazdā, whichever of yours is the most beneficial. May the bony truth be strong through its vitality. May right-mindedness in its reign be in the sight of the sun. Grant reward through actions by means of good thought.

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Glossary

In the following pages, we offer a glossary of the words contained in the texts of § 41. The numbers refer to the corresponding nominal or verbal class. Young Avestan forms are unmarked. In verbs, active voice is unmarked.

The alphabetical order followed is: a ā å å̄ ą ą̄ ə ə̄ e ē o ō i ī u ū – k x x́ x̌ x^v g (ġ) ɣ – c j – t θ d δ t̰ – p f b β – n ń ŋ ŋ^v n ń ṇ m m̨ – (ẏ) y v – r – s z š ś ṣ̌ ž – h.

a-/i- dem.pron. 'this' 22.2.1: gen.sg.m. *ahiiā* (OAv.), dat.pl.m.n. *aēibiiō*, loc.sg.m.n. *ahmi*, *ahmiia*

aēuua- 'one' 21.1; 'this' 20.2

aēta- 'that there' 22.2.2: nom.sg.n. *aētəm*, abl.sg.m.n. *aētahmāt̰*, loc.sg.m.n. *aētahmi*, nom.du.n. *aēte*, gen.pl.m.n. *aētaēšąm*

aētauuaṇt- 'as, so, so much' 18.3: gen.sg.n. *aētauuatō*

aēša- 'vigorous' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *aēšəm*

aoxtō.nāman(a)- 'invocatory' (lit. 'speaking the name') 18.4/19.1: inst.sg.m. *aoxtō.nāmana*

aoj- 'speak' 32.1: 1.sg.pres.mid.inj. *aojī* (OAv.)

aojah- n. 'might' 18.7: acc.sg. *aojō*

aojōŋhuuaṇt- (OAv.) 'mighty, strong' 18.3: nom.sg.n. *aojōŋhuuat̰*

aiiaoš- → *āiiu-*

aiiar- n. 'day' 18.6: acc.sg. *aiiarə̄* (OAv.)

aibī prep. 'about, regarding' + loc. 23.3

aiβi.aojah- 'overwhelming in might' 18.7: nom.sg.m *aiβi.aojå̄*

aiβiδātō.taršti- 'frighteningly harnessed' 19.5: gen.sg.m. *aiβiδātō.tarštōiš*

aiβi.vaniiah- 'victorious' 18.7: nom.sg.m *aiβi.vaniiå̄*

auua adv. 'towards'

auua- dem.pron. 'that there' 22.2.5: nom.sg.m. *huuō* (OAv.), nom.sg.f. *hāu*, inst.pl.f. *auuabiiō*

auuacah- 'mute' 18.7: nom.sg.m. *auuacå̄*

auuāi- 'descend': 3.sg.pres.ind. *auuāiti*

auui prep. + acc. 'towards' 23.3

auui.ama- 'very strong' 19.1: gen.sg.m. *auui.amahe*

auui.bar- 'bring': 1.sg.pres.ind. *auui.barāmi* 32.4, 1.sg.perf.opt. *auui.baβriiąm* 32.6

auruša- 'white' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *aurušahe*

aka- 'bad, wicked' 19.1/2: acc.sg.n. *akəm*, dat.sg.n. *akāi*

ax^var(a)- 'without eating': nom.pl.m. *ax^varō*

aθa 'so, thus' 37.2

adaste → *dā-*

adāt̰ 'from there'

aδāitiiō.xratu- 'without proper judgment' 19.5: nom.sg.m. *aδāitiiō.xratuš*

aδu- f. 'canal' 19.5: nom.pl. *aδauuō*

aδβan- m. 'distance' 18.4: acc.sg. *aδβanəm*

at̰ (OAv.): 'so, then'

apa adv. 'away, dis-'

apaoša- m. 'Apaoša' 19.1: nom.sg. *apaošō*, acc.sg. *apaošəm*

apaiti.ərəta- 'unimpeded' 19.1/2: nom.pl.f. *apaiti.ərətå̄*

apascā → *āp-*

apąm → *āp-*

apərənāiiūka- 'child, youth' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *apərənāiiukəm*

apəma- 'final' 19.1/2: loc.sg.m. *apə̄mē* (OAv.)

aŋhuuō → *ahu-*

aŋhə̄uš → *ahu-*

aŋ^vhe → *ahu-*

aniia- 'other' 19.1/2, 20.2.: nom.pl.m. *aniia*, nom.pl.m. *aniie*

aŋgra- (OAv.) 'evil, wicked' 19.1/2: acc.pl.m. *aŋgrə̄ŋg*

ama- m. 'strength' 19.1: nom.sg. *amō*

amauuaṇt- 'vigorous' 18.3.: gen.sg.m. *amauuatō*

ar- 'come' 32.1: 1.sg.aor.inj. *ārəm* (OAv.)

arəθa- n. 'intent, aspiration' 19.1: acc.pl. *arəθā*
(OAv.)

ast- n. 'bone' 18.1: inst.pl. *azdəbīš* (OAv.)

asti → *ah*-

astuuaṇt- 'bony' 18.3: nom.sg.n. *astuuaṭ*,
dat.sg.m. *astuuaite*, loc.sg.m. *astuuaiṇti*,
gen.pl.f. *astuuaitinąm*

aspa- 'horse' 19.1: gen.sg. *aspahe*, gen.pl.
aspanąm

aspiia- 'of a horse, pertaining to a horse' 19.1/2:
acc.sg.f. *aspiiąm*

asrušta- 'disobeyed' 19.1/2: acc.pl.n. *asruštā*
(OAv.)

aza- 'drive, impel' 32.4: *azə̄* 32.1

azəm pers.pron. of the 1st pers.sg. 22.1: acc.sg.
mąm, acc.sg.encl. *mā*, gen.dat.sg.encl. *mē*,
mōi (OAv.), dat.sg. *maibiiō* (OAv.)

azdəbīš → *ast*-

ašta 'eight' 21.1

ašti.masah- 'of an ašti in length' 18.7: acc.sg.n.
ašti.masō

aštrā- f. 'whip' 19.2: inst.sg. *aštraiia*

aš.dānu- 'having plump grain' 19.5: gen.pl.m.
aš.dānunąm

aša- n. 'truth' 19.1: acc.sg. *ašəm*, gen.sg. *ašahiiā*
(OAv.), abl.sg. *ašāṭ*, inst.sg. *ašā*

ašauuan- 'truthful' 18.4.: voc.sg. *ašāum*,
acc.sg.m. *ašauuanəm*, dat.sg.m. *ašāunē*
(OAv.), acc.pl.m. *ašaonō*, gen.pl.m.
ašāunąm (OAv.)

aši- 'reward' 19.5: acc.sg. *ašīm*, inst.sg. *ašī*,
acc.pl. *ašīš*

ah- 'be' 32.1: 1.sg.pres.ind. *ahmi, ahmī* (OAv.),
2.sg. *ahī* (OAv.), 3.sg. *asti*, 1.sg.pres.opt.
x́iiə̄m (OAv.), 3.sg. *x́iiāṭ* (OAv.)

ahiiā → *a*-/*i*-

ahu- 'life, existence' 19.5: gen.sg. *aŋhə̄uš*
(OAv.), dat.sg. *aŋʰhe*, loc.sg. *aŋhuuō*

ahura- m. 'Ahura' 19.1: nom.sg. *ahurō*, voc.sg.
ahura, ahurā (OAv.), acc.sg. *ahurəm*

ahmāka- 'our' 19.1: inst.pl.m. *ahmākāiš*

ahmi → *ah*-; *a*-/*i*-

ahmiia → *a*-/*i*-

ahmī → *ah*-

ā adv. 'against, until, towards, for' + acc. 23.9

āaṭ 'so, then, but'

āiiu- n. 'age, life' 19.5: gen.sg. *yaoš* (OAv.),
aiiiaoš

ātar- n. 'fire' 18.5: dat.sg. *āθrē* (OAv.)

āθrauuan- m. 'priest' 18.4: nom.sg. *āθrauua*

ād- 'say' 32.6: 3.pl.perf.ind. *ādarə̄* (OAv.)

āṭ (OAv.) 'then, so, for' 37.2

āp- f. 'water' 18.1: voc.pl. *āpō*, acc.pl. *apas-cā*,
gen.pl. *apąm*

ārəm → *ar*-

ārmaiti- f. 'right-mindedness' 19.5: nom.sg.
ārmaitiš, inst.sg. *ārmaitī* (OAv.)

āsišta- 'swiftest' 19.1/2: nom.sg.n. *āsištəm*

ā-stāraiia- 'make oneself sinful' 32.4:
3.sg.pres.ind. *āstāraiiaeiti*

āstriia- 'sin' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.ind. *āstriieiti*

āzūiti f. 'fat' 19.5: nom.sg. *āzūitiš-ca*

āhūiriia- 'ahurian, pertaining to Ahura' 19.1/2:
acc.pl.n. *āhūiriiā* (OAv.)

əuuiṇdan- 'without receiving anything' 18.4:
nom.pl.m. *əuuiṇdānō*

ərəzušā- f. 'puberty' 19.2: acc.sg. *ərəzušąm*

ə̄mauuaṇt- (OAv.) 'strong' 18.3: acc.sg.m.
ə̄mauuaṇtəm, gen.pl.m. *ə̄mauuatąm*

ə̄hmā → *vaēm*

i-/aii- 'go' 32.1: 3.sg.pres.ind. *aēiti*, inf. *itē* (OAv.)

itē → *i*-/*aii*-

iθā (OAv.) 'thus, so'

iθra 'here, now'

iδa 'here'

isa- 'seek' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.ind. *isaiti*,
3.sg.pres.mid.ind. *isaite*, 1.sg.pres.mid.opt.
isōiiā (OAv.)

is(a)- 'be able' 32.1/4: 1.sg.pres.mid.subj. *isāi*
(OAv.)

isuuan- '(be/have) available' 18.4: nom.sg.m.
isuuā

īṭ → *i*-/*h*-

īšti- f. 'wealth' 19.5: acc.sg. *īštīm*

i-/h- encl.pers.pron. of the 3rd pers. 22.1.6:
acc.sg.m.f. *dim*, acc.sg.f. *hīm*, acc.sg.n. *īṭ*,
gen.dat.sg. *hē, hōi* (OAv.)

uxδa- n. 'word' 19.1: acc.pl. *uxδā* (OAv.), inst.pl.
uxδāiš

udra- m. 'otter' 19.1: nom.pl. *udra*

upa prep. 'around, (up) to' + acc. 23.10

upāi- = *upa* + *i-*/*aii-* 'approach, draw near to' (+ acc.): 3.sg.pres.ind. *upāiti*

upāpa- 'aquatic' 19.1: nom.pl. *upāpa*

upāza- (= *upa* + *aza-*) 'impose' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.opt. *upāzōiṯ*

upāzana- n. 'lash' 19.1: gen.pl. *upāzananąm*

ufiia- 'extol' 32.4.: 1.sg.pres.ind. *ufiiā-cā* (OAv.)

uruuaēsa- m. 'turn' 19.1: loc.sg. *uruuaēsē* (OAv.)

uruuan- m. 'soul, spirit' 18.4: gen.sg. *urunō*

uruuarā- f. 'plant' 19.2: voc.pl. *uruuarå̄s-ca*, acc.pl. *uruuarå̄s-cā* (OAv.)

uruuištra- n. 'retreat' 19.1: acc.sg. *uruuištrəm*

urupi- m. 'weasel' 19.5: gen.sg. *urupōiš*

urunō → *uruuan-*

us adv. 'outside, above'

uz-ar- 'raise, rise': mid.inf. 32.1 *uzərəidiiāi* (OAv.)

ušta- 'wish' 19.1: nom.pl. *ušta*

uštatāt- f. 'good fortune' 18.2: acc.sg. *uštatātəm*

uštāna- m./n. 'life, vitality' 19.1: inst.sg. *uštānā* (OAv.), inst.pl. *uštānāiš*

uštra- m. 'camel' 19.1: gen.pl. *uštranąm*

ušiiāi → *vac-*

ka- 'who?' 22.5: nom.sg.m. *kō*, nom.sg.f. *kā*, gen.sg. *kahiiā* (OAv.), dat.sg.m. *kahmāi*

kauruua- 'bald, hairless' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *kauruuahe*

kauruuō.gaoša- 'having hairless ears' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *kauruuō.gaošahe*

kauruuō.dūma- 'having a hairless tail' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *kauruuō.dūmahe*

kauruuō.barəša- 'having a hairless back' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *kauruuō.barəšahe*

kaθā (OAv.) 'how, why?'

kasu.dānu- 'having fine grains' 19.5: gen.pl.n. *kasu.dānunąm*

kāma- m. 'desire' 19.1: gen.sg. *kāmahiiā* (OAv.)

kəhrp- f. 'body, form' 18.1: inst.sg. *kəhrpa*, acc.sg. *kəhrpəm*

kuua 'where?'

kuθa 'how'

xraožduua- 'hard' 19.1: gen.sg.n. *xraožduuahe*

xratu- m. 'thought' 19.5: gen.sg. *xratə̄uš* (OAv.)

xšaθra- n. 'rule, reign, control' 19.1: inst.sg. *xšaθrā* (OAv.), loc.sg. *xšaθrōi* (OAv.)

xšapan- f. 'night' 18.4: acc.pl. *xšapanō*

xšaiia- 'rule' 32.4: nom.sg.m. of pres.part. *xšaiiąs*

xšuuaš 'six'

xšuuid- m. 'milk' 18.1: nom.sg. *xšuuis-ca*

xšmā → *yūžəm*

x́iiāṯ → *ah-*

x́iiə̄m → *ah-*

xᵛara- 'eat' 32.4: acc.sg.m. of pres.part. *xᵛarəntəm*

xᵛarəθa- n. 'food' 19.1: gen.pl. *xᵛarəθanąm*

xᵛə̄ṇg- → *huuar-*

gairi- m. 'mountain' 19.5: gen.pl. *gairinąm*

gaēθā- f. 'creature' 19.2: nom.pl. *gaēθå̄*, gen.pl. *gaēθanąm*, abl.pl. *gaēθābiiō*, loc.pl. *gaēθāhū* (OAv.)

gaoiia- 'of a cow, pertaining to a cow' 19.1/2: acc.sg.f. *gaoiiąm*

gaomauuaṇt- 'with milk' 18.3: dat.abl.pl.f. *gaomauuaitibiiō*

gauu- 'cow, bull; meat': acc.sg. *gąm*, gen.abl.sg. *gə̄uš*, gen.pl. *gauuąm*

gam 'go, come' 32.1: 3.sg.aor.subj. *jimaṯ*

-ca, -cā (OAv.) encl. 'and'

cixšnuša- 'wish to satisfy' 25.17, 32.4: nom.sg.m. of pres.part. *cixšnušō*

ciθā- f. 'punishment, penance' 19.2: nom.sg. *ciθa*

-ciṯ, -cīṯ (OAv.) affirmative or emphatic pariticle

ci-/*ca-* 'who?', 'someone' 22.5.1: nom.sg.m. *ciš*, *ciš-cā* (OAv.)

cuuaṯ 'how much?'

jan-/*γn-* 'beat, strike' 32.1: 3.sg.pres.ind. *jaiṇti*

jasa- 'go, come' 25.16, 32.4: 2.sg.pres.inj. *jasō*, 3.pl.pres.subj. *jaså̄ṇti*, acc.sg.m. of pres.part. *jasəṇtəm*

jažu- m. 'hedgehog' 19.5: gen.sg. *jažaoš*

jimaṯ → *gam-*

tauuā → *tūm*

tauruna- 'young' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *taurunəm*

taδa 'so, then'

taṱ → *ha-/ta-*

tanū- m.f. 'body' 19.4: dat.sg. *tanuiie*, loc.pl.
    tanušu-cā (OAv.)

tarō.piθβa- 'lacking in food' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m.
    tarō.piθβəm

tāciṱ → *ha-/ta-*

tāiiu- m. 'thief' 19.5: acc.pl. *tāiiūš*

tāiš → *ha-/ta-*

tāšta- 'shaped, formed' 19.1/2: acc.sg.n. *tāštəm*

tå → *ha-/ta-*

tąm → *ha-/ta-*

tə̄m → *ha-/ta-*

tē → *tūm*; *ha-/ta-*

tōi → *tūm*; *ha-/ta-*

tištriia- m. 'Tištria' 19.1: nom.sg. *tištriias-ca*,
    tištriiō, acc.sg. *tištrīm*

tiži.dāta- 'having sharp teeth' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m
    tiži.dātahe

tušna- 'peaceful' 19.1/2: nom.sg.f. *tušnā* (OAv.)

tū → *tūm*

tūm pers.pron. of the 2nd pers.sg. 'you' 22.1:
    nom.encl. *tū*, acc.encl. *θβā*, gen. *tauuā*
    (OAv.), gen.dat.encl. *tē*, *tōi* (OAv.)

θβa- possessive pron. 'your' 22.4: gen.sg.m.
    θβahiiā (OAv.), inst.sg.m.n. *θβā* (OAv.),
    loc.sg.m. *θβahmī* (OAv.), loc.pl.f. *θβāhū*
    (OAv.)

θβā → *tūm*

θrāθra- n. 'protection' 19.1: acc.sg. *θrāθrəm*

θri.aiiara- 'lasting three days' 19.1/2: acc.sg.n.
    θri.aiiarəm

θri.xšapara- 'lasting three nights' 19.1/2:
    acc.sg.n. *θri.xšaparəm*

θritiia- 'third' 19.1/2, 21.2: nom.pl.f *θritiiå*

daēuua- m. 'demon' 19.1: nom.sg. *daēuuas-ca*,
    daēuuō, acc.sg. *daēūm*

daēnā- f. 'religion' 19.2: voc.sg. *daēne*

daiθiiāṱ → *dā-*

daidīt → *dā-*

daxša- 'show' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.inj. *daxsaṱ*

daxšāra- m. 'daxšāra' (meaning unknown)
    19.1: voc.sg. *daxšārā* (OAv.)

daxšta- n. 'characteristic' 19.1: dat.abl.pl.
    daxštābiiō (19.2)

daɣa- 'reddish' 19.1: gen.sg.m *daɣahe*

daδąm → *dā-*

daṇ́hu- f. 'country' 19.5: voc.pl. *daṇ́hauuō*

dar- 'hold, support' 32.5: 3.sg.aor.inj. *dārəšt*
    (OAv.)

darəga- (OAv.) 'long' 19.1/2: gen.sg.n.
    darəgahiiā

darəsa- m. 'appearance; sight' 19.1: loc.sg.
    darəsōi (OAv.)

dars- 'see, look' 32.1: 1.sg.aor.inj. *darəsəm*

dasa(-) 'ten' 21.1: indecl. *dasa*, gen.pl.m.f.
    dasanąm

daste → *dā-*

dahmō.kərəta- 'made by a dahma' 19.1/2:
    acc.sg.m. *dahmō.kərətəm*

dā 'give; put; make' 32.1/2: 1.sg.pres.inj.
    daδąm, 3.sg.pres.mid.inj. *daste*, *adaste*,
    3.sg.pres.opt. *daiθiiāṱ*, *daidīṱ* (OAv.),
    2.sg.aor.inj. *då*, 3.sg.aor.inj. *dāṱ* (OAv.),
    2.pl.aor.inj. *dātā* (OAv.), 3.sg.aor.opt. *dāiiāṱ*,
    diiāṱ (OAv.), 1.sg.aor.mid.opt. *diiā* (OAv.),
    2.sg.aor.mid.opt. *dīšā*

dāitiiō.gātu- 'in the proper place' 19.5:
    nom.sg.m. *dāitiiō.gātuš*

dāitiiō.piθβa- n. 'proper food': nom.sg.
    dāitiiō.piθβəm

dāiš → *dis-*

dāuru- n. 'wood' 19.5: acc.sg. *dāuru*

dātar- m. 'creator' 18.5: voc.sg. *dātarə*

dābaiia- 'deceive' 32.4: 3.sg.ind.pres. *dābaiieitī*
    (OAv.)

dāman- n. 'creature' 18.4: gen.pl. *dāmanąm*

dāmi- f. 'creation' 19.5: gen.sg. *dāmōiš*

dārəšt → *dar-*

dąh- 'teach' 32.2: 1.sg.pres.mid.ind. *dīdaṇ́hē*
    (OAv.)

diiā → *dā-*

diiāṱ → *dā-*

dim → *i-/h-*

dis 'point, show' 32.5: 2.sg.aor.inj. *dāiš* (OAv.)

dīdaṇ́hē → *dąh-*

dīšā → *dā-*

duuaēšah- n. (OAv.) 'hostility' 18.7: acc.pl.
    duuaēšå

drəguuaṇt- m. (OAv.) 'liar' 18.3: dat.sg.
    drəguuāitē, acc.pl. *drəguuatō*

paoiriia- 'first' 19.1/2, 21.2: acc.sg.n. *paoirīm*, acc.pl.f. *paoiriiå*

paouruiia- (OAv.) 'first' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *paouruuīm*

paiti adv. 'to(wards)' 23.14

paitiiåṇc- 'against, opposed to' 18.2: nom.sg.m. *paiti.yąš*

pairiiaoj- (*pairi* + *aoj-*) 'impose' 32.1: 2.sg.pres.mid.inj. *pairiiaoɣžā* (OAv.)

pairī.jasa- 'surround' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.inj. *pairī.jasaṯ*

pauruuatāt- 'excellence' 18.2: inst.sg. *pauruuatātā* (OAv.)

paṇca 'five' 21.1

paṇca.dasah- 'fifteen' 18.7: gen.sg.m. *paṇca.dasaŋhō*

parā adv. 'before' 23.16

parāi = *para* + *i-*/*aii-* 'go foward' 32.1: 3.sg.pres.ind. *parāiti*

parō adv. 'beside', 'further' 23.17

paršta- 'asked' 19.1: nom.sg.n. *parštǝ̄m* (OAv.), nom.pl.n. *parštā* (OAv.)

pasu- m. 'cattle, livestock' 19.5: acc.sg. *pasūm*

pasuš.hauruua- 'shepherding' 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *pasuš.hauruuō*, acc.sg.m. *pasuš.haurum*

pǝrǝsa- 'ask' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.inj. *pǝrǝsaṯ*, 2.sg.pres.impv. *pǝrǝsā-cā*

pǝrǝsaniia- 'ask' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.ind. *pǝrǝsaniieiti*

fǝrasa- m./n. (OAv.) 'consultation' 19.1: acc.sg. *fǝrasǝ̄m*

fǝrasā- (OAv.) f. 'question' 19.2: dat.sg. *fǝrasaiiāi*

frauuaši- f. 'Fravaši' 19.5: acc.pl. *frauuašĭš*

fratǝmnō.nmāna- n. 'foremost house' 19.1: gen.sg. *fratǝmnō.nmānahe*

frazābaoδah- 'taking away the consciousness' 18.7: acc.sg.m. *frazābaoδaŋhǝm*

frā adv. 'forth, forward' 23.19

frāiiaza- (*frā* + *yaza-*) 'honor' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.mid.subj. *frāiiazāite*

frāxšnǝna- (OAv.) m./n. 'foresight' 19.1: loc.sg. *fraxšnaǝnē*

frāxšnǝna- (OAv.) 'foresightful one' 19.1: acc.sg.n. *frāxšnǝnǝm*

frāda- 'prosper' 32.4: 3.pl.pres.mid.ind. *frādǝṇtē* (OAv.)

frǝs- 'attain' (*fra-* + *ąs* → *nas-*) 32.1: 3.sg.aor.mid.inj.

friia- 'friend' 19.1/2: dat.sg.m. *friiāi*

bauua- 'be(come)' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.ind. *bauuaiti*, 3.sg.pres.inj. *bauuaṯ*, 3.sg.pres.subj. *bauuāṯ*

baxta- n. 'destiny; disgrace' 19.1: acc.sg. *baxtǝm*

bara 'bear, carry' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.impv. *baratu*, 3.du.pres.ind. *baratō*, 3.pl.pres.opt. *baraiiǝn*

bāzu- m. 'arm, leg' 19.5: acc.pl. *bāzuš*

bǝrǝzaṇt- 'high' 18.3: gen.sg.m. *bǝrǝzatō*

bōiṯ 'nothing less than'

bitiia- 'second' 19.1/2, 21.1: acc.pl.f. *bitiiå*

biš 'twice'

būmi- f. 'earth' 19.5: acc.sg. *būmīm*

būšti- f. 'adornment' 19.5: acc.pl. *būštīš*

naēci-/*naēca-* 'no one' 22.5.1: nom.sg.m. *naēciš*, acc.sg.m. *naēcim*

nar- m. 'man' 18.5: nom.sg. *nā*, acc.sg. *narǝm*, gen.sg. *narš*, gen.pl. *narąm*

nas- 'reach'

nāirī- f. 'woman' 19.3: gen.pl. *nāirinąm*

nāuuaiia- 'rich in waters' 19.1/2: gen.pl. *nāuuaiianąm*

nāman- n. 'name' 18.4: acc.pl. *nāmǝ̄nī* (OAv.)

nå → *vaēm*

nǝmah- n. 'reverance, homage' 18.7: gen.sg. *nǝmaŋhō*

nōiṯ 'not'

niiāza- (*ni* + *aza-*) 'close, tighten' 32.4: 3.pl.pres.opt. *niiāzaiiǝn*

ni-darǝza- 'tie, bind; hold down' 32.4: 3.pl.pres.opt *nidarǝzaiiǝn*

ni-mrū- 'utter' 32.1: 3.sg.pres.mid.ind. *nimrūite*

ni-mrauua- 'utter' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.mid.ind. *nimrauuaite*

niž-duuara- 'run/chase (out)': 3.sg.pres.ind. *nižduuaraiti*

nūrąm 'now'

nmāna- n. 'house' 19.1: loc.sg. *nmāne*

nmānō.paiti- m. 'master of the house' 19.5: acc.sg. *nmānō.paitīm*

maiti- f. 'mind' 19.5: nom.sg. *maitiš*

maibiiō → *azəm*

maδəmō.nmāna- n. 'house of middling importance' 19.1: gen.sg. *maδəmō.nmānahe*

maṯ prep./posp. + gen. 'with'

man- 'think, realize': 1.sg.aor.mid.inj. *mə̄ŋghī*

manaoθrī- f. 'neck' 19.3: acc.sg. *manaoθrīm*

manah- n. 'thought' 18.7: inst.sg. *manaŋhā* (OAv.)

mańiia- 'be aware, think about' 32.4: 1.sg.pres.mid.subj. *mainiiāi*

mańiiu- 'spirit' 19.5: acc.sg. *mainiiūm*, gen.sg. *mainiiə̄uš*, inst.sg. *mainiiū* (OAv.)

mara- 'memorize' 32.4: 3.pl.pres.ind. *marəntī* (OAv.)

mazan- n. 'greatness' 18.4: inst.sg. *mazə̄nā-cā* (OAv.)

mazdā- m. 'Mazdā' 18.1: nom.sg. *mazdå*, voc.sg. *mazda*, *mazdā* (OAv.), acc.sg. *mazdąm*

mazdaiiasna- 'Mazdayasnian' 19.1/2: nom.pl. *mazdaiiasna*

mazdā.vara- 'which Mazdā chooses' 19.1/2: acc.pl.n. *mazdā.varā* (OAv.)

maṣ̌iia- m. 'mortal, man' 19.1: loc.pl. *maṣ̌iiaēsū*

maṣ̌iiāka- m. 'man' 19.1: nom.pl. *maṣ̌iiāka*

mā → *azəm*

māzdaiiesni- 'Mazdayasnian' 19.5: voc.sg.f. *māzdaiiesne*

mąθra- m. 'mantra' 19.1.: acc.pl. (sic!) *mąθrå*

mąm → *azəm*

mə̄ŋghī → *man-*

mīždauuaṇt- 'having prizes' 18.3: acc.pl.n. *mīždauuąn* (OAv.)

mrauu-/mrū- 'speak' 32.1: 2.sg.pres.inj. *mraoš*, 3.sg.pres.inj. *mraoṯ*, 2.pl.pres.inj. *mraotā* (OAv.)

ya- relative pron. 'which, who' 22.3: nom.sg.m *yə̄* (OAv.), *yas-tē*, *yō*, acc.sg.m. *yə̄m* (OAv.), *yim*, gen.sg.n. *yehiiā*, inst.sg.m. *yā*, loc.sg.m. *yahmī* (OAv.), nom.pl.m. *yōi*, nom.acc.pl.n. *yā(-cā)* (OAv.), nom.sg.f. *yā*

yaonō.xᵛapta- 'sleeping in its den' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *yaonō.xᵛaptahe*

yaoš → *āiiu-*

yaoždāθra- n. 'purification' 19.1: acc.sg. *yaoždāθrəm*

yauua- 'wheat' 19.1: gen.pl. *yauuanąm*

yauuaṯ 'as much as'

yaθa 'as, when' 37.3

yaθəna- m. 'strength, force' 19.1: inst.sg. *yaθənā*

yasna- m. 'sacrifice, act of worship' 19.1: inst.sg. *yasna*, gen.pl. *yasnanąm*

yaza- 'worship, honor' 32.4: 1.sg.pres.mid.ind. *yaze*, 1.pl.pres.mid.ind. *yazamaidē* (OAv.), 3.pl.pres.ind.mid. *yazəṇte*, 3.pl.pres.mid.opt. *yazaiiaṇta*

yaziia- 'be worshiped' 32.4: 3.pl.pres.ind. *yaziṇti*

yāh- n. 'girdle' 18.1: nom.sg. *yå*

yeiδi 'if' 37.3

yesniia- 'deserving of worship' 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *yesniias-ca*

yezi 'if' 37.3

yūiδiia- 'fight' 32.4: 3.du.pres.ind. *yūiδiiaθō*

yūjiiasti- f. 'yūjiiasti-' (a measure of distance): acc.sg. *yūjiiastīm*

yūžəm pers.pron. of the 2nd pers.pl. 'you, you all' 22.1: acc.encl. *vå*, acc.gen.dat.encl. *vō*, inst. *xšmā* (OAv.)

vaēda- 'find' 32.4: nom.sg.m. of pres.mid.part. *vaēdəmnō* (OAv.)

vaēm pers.pron of the 1st pers.pl. 'we' 22.1: acc. *ə̄hmā* (OAv.), acc.encl. *nå* (OAv.)

vairiia- 'to be chosen, desirable' 19.1/2: gen.sg.f. *vairiiå*

vac 'speak, say' 32.1: 3.sg.aor.pass.inj. *vācī* (OAv.), inf. *uṣ̌iiāi* (OAv.)

vaŋhu- 'good' 19.3,5: acc.sg.f. *vaŋᵛīm*, dat.sg.n. *vaŋhauuē* (OAv.), inst.sg.n. *vohū* (OAv.), acc.pl.f. *vaŋᵛhīš*, acc.pl.n. *vohū* (OAv.)

var 'choose, want' 32.3: 3.sg.pres.mid.ind. *vərəṇtē* (OAv.)

varəduua- 'soft' 19.1: gen.sg.n. *varəduuahe*

vas-/us- 'wish, want' 32.1: 2.sg.pres.ind. *vaṣ̌ī* (OAv.)

vasasə.xšaθra- m. (OAv.) 'who rules according to his own will' 19.1: gen.sg. *vasasə.xšaθrahiiā*

vaza- 'lead, drive' 32.4: nom.sg.m. of pres.mid.part. *vazəmnō*

vahišta- 'best' 19.1/2: acc.sg.n. *vahištəm*

vahmiia- 'deserving of praise' 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *vahmiias-ca*

vā 'or' 37.2

vācī → *vac-*

vāstra- n. 'pasture, meadow' 19.1: gen.pl. *vāstranąm*

vå → *yūžəm*

vąθβā- f. 'herd': acc.sg. *vąθβąm*

vərəṇtē → *var-*

vərəziia- 'carry out, execute, do' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.subj. *vərəziiāṯ*, 3.pl.pres.subj. *vərəziiąn*, mid.inf. *vərəziieidiiāi* (OAv.)

vəhrka- m. 'wolf' 19.1: acc.sg. *vəhrkəm*

vourukaša- 'Vourukaša' (lit.: 'having a wide bay') 19.1/2: acc.sg.n. *vourukašəm*, abl.sg. *vourukašāṯ*

vohū → *vaŋhu-*

vohunazga- 'for hunting (of dogs)' 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *vohunazgō*, acc.sg.m. *vohunazgəm*

vō → *yūžəm*

vōizdiiāi → *vid-*

viia- 'pursue, chase' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.ind. *viieiti*

viiāxmańiia- 'proclaim, speak aloud' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.mid.ind. *viiāxmaniiete*

vid- 'find; know' 32.6: act.inf. *vī-uuīduiiē*, mid.inf. *vōizdiiāi*

viš.hauruua- 'guardian' (lit: 'protecting the village') 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *viš.hauruuō*, acc.sg.m. *viš.haurum*

vī adv. 'apart'

vīuuīduiiē → *vid-*

vīkərəṯ.uštāna- 'which cuts away life' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *vīkərəṯ.uštanəm*

vīra- m. 'man' 19.1.: acc.sg. *vīrəm*

vīriia- 'pertaining to men, manly' 19.1/2: acc.sg.f. *vīriiąm*

vīs- f. 'tribe, village' 18.1: abl.pl. *vīžibiiō*

vīspa- 'all' 19.1/2: acc.pl.m. *vīspə̄ng* (OAv.), acc.pl.n. *vīspā-cā* (OAv.), gen.pl.m. *vīspanąm*, inst.pl.m. *vīspāiš*

vīzu- m. 'vīzu' (an animal) 19.5: gen.sg. *vīzaoš*

vīžibiiō → *vīs-*

raēuuaṇt- 'brilliant, splendid' 18.3: nom.sg.m. *raēuuå̄*, acc.sg.m. *raēuuaṇtəm*

raēθβaiia- 'mix' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.ind. *raēθβaiieiti*

raēšaiia- 'damage' 32.4: 3.sg.pres.subj. *raēšaiiāṯ*

raoxšnu- n.? 'light': loc.pl. *raoxšnušuua*

raocah- n. 'light' 18.7: acc.pl. *raocås-cā* (OAv.)

raopi- m. 'fox' 19.5: gen.sg. *raopōiš*

ratu- m. 'judgment' 18.5: acc.pl. *ratūš*

rapiθβina- 'pertaining to midday' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *rapiθβinəm*

rafənah- n. 'support' 18.7: nom.acc.sg. *rafənō*

rātā- f. 'gift' 19.2: acc.sg. *rātąm*

rāna- m. 'side, part' 19.1: dat.pl. *rānōibiiō* (OAv.)

sauua- n. 'abundance': loc.sg. *sauuōi* (OAv.)

sata- 'one hundred' 21.1: acc.pl.n. *sata*

saṇd- 'seem' 32.5: 3.sg.aor.inj. *sąs* (OAv.)

sarədanā- f. 'challenge; challenger' 19.2: acc.pl. *sarədanå*

sādra- n. 'defeat' 19.1: acc.sg. *sādrəm*

sādra- 'deceptive' 19.1/2: nom.sg.f. *sādrā* (OAv.)

sāma- 'black' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *sāmahe*

sąs → *saṇd-*

səraoša- m. (OAv.) 'obedience': nom.sg. *səraošō*

sə̄ŋgha- (OAv.) 'explain': 3.sg.pres.ind. *sə̄ŋghaitī*

sə̄ŋgha- (OAv.) m. 'explanation': gen.sg. *sə̄ŋghahiiā*

sukuruna- m. 'porcupine' 19.1: gen.sg. *sukurunahe*

sūnahe → *span/sūn-*

stauu-/stu- 'praise' 32.1: 1.sg.pres.ind. *staomī* (OAv.)

staman- m. 'mouth' 18.4.: *staməm*

sti- f. 'existence' 19.5: gen.sg. *stōiš*

spaciθra- 'canine' 19.1/2: gen.pl.m. *spaciθranąm*

span-/sūn- m. 'dog' 18.1/4: nom.sg. *spā*, acc.sg. *spānəm*, gen.sg. *sūnahe*, nom.pl. *spānō*

spasan- 'spying' 18.4: nom.pl.m. *spasānō*

spəṇta- 'beneficient' 19.1/2: acc.sg.m. *spəṇtəm*, gen.sg.m. *spəṇtahe*, inst.sg.m. *spəṇtā* (OAv.)

spəṇtō.təma- 'most beneficient' 19.1/2: acc.pl.n. *spəṇtō.təmā* (OAv.)

spəṇtō.mainiiauua- 'pertaining to the beneficient spirit' 19.1/2: gen.pl.m. *spəṇtō.mainiiauuanąm*

spᾱništa- (OAv.) 'most beneficient' 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *spᾱništō*

spitama- m. 'Spitama' 19.1: voc.sg. *spitama*

spiti.dōiθra- 'having white eyes' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *spiti.dōiθrahe*

snaθa- m. 'blow, hit' 19.1: acc.sg. *snaθəm*

sraoša- 'pay attention': nom.sg.m. of pres.part. *sraošəmnō*

sraošō.caranā- 'scourge' 19.2: inst.sg. *sraošō.caranaiia*

srīra- 'beautiful' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *srīrahe*

zaoθrā- f. 'libation' 19.2: dat.abl.pl. *zaoθrābiiō*

zaozao-/zaozū- 'call' 32.1 (present intensive 25.2b): 1.sg.pres.ind. *zaozaomī* (OAv.)

zairi.gaoša- 'having yellow ears' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *ziri.gaošahe*

zauruuan- m. 'old age' 18.4: acc.sg. *zauruuānəm*

zaraθuštra- m. 'Zarathustra' 19.1: nom.sg. *zaraθuštrō*, voc.sg. *zaraθuštra*

zaraniiō.aiβiδāna- 'having a golden bridle' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *zaraniiō.aiβiδānahe*

zaraniiō.sruua- 'having golden horns' 19.1/2: gen.sg.m. *zaraniiō.sruuahe*

zarazdāiti- f. 'faith' 19.5: nom.sg. *zarazdāitiš*

ząθa- n. 'creation, generation' 19.1: loc.sg. *ząθōi* (OAv.)

zī 'because'

zraiiah- n. 'lake' 18.7: acc.sg. *zraiiō*, abl.sg. *zraiiaŋhaṱ*

zruuan- m. 'time' 18.4: acc.sg. *zruuānəm*

šiiaē-/šii- 'dwell' 32.1: 3.pl.pres.ind. *šiieiṇtī* (OAv.)

šiiaoθana- n. 'deed, act' 19.1: acc.pl. *šiiaoθanā*, inst.pl. *šiiaoθanāiš*

šiiaoθna- n. 'deed, act' 19.1: acc.sg. *šiiaoθnəm*, gen.pl. *šiiaoθnanąm*

šiiaoθnāuuarəz- 'doing deeds' 18.1: acc.sg.m. *šiiaoθnāuuarəzəm*

ha-/ta- dem.pron. 'this' 22.2: nom.sg.m. *hō*, nom.sg.n. *taṱ*, acc.sg.m. *təm* (OAv.), acc.sg.f. *tąm*, nom.du.m. *tā-ciṱ* (*tå*), nom.pl.m. *tē*, *tōi* (OAv.), inst.pl.m. *tāiš*

haomauuaṇt- 'with haoma' 18.3: dat.abl.pl.f. *haomauuaitibiiō*

haiθiia- 'truthful' 19.1/2: nom.sg.m. *haiθiiō*

hauua- 'own' 22.4: gen.sg.m. *hauuahe-ca*

hauuapaŋha- (OAv.) 'skillfulness' 19.1: inst.pl. *hauuapaŋhāiš*

hacǎ (OAv.): posp. + gen.abl. '(outside) of, from; according to; together with' 23.24

haca- 'follow' 32.4: nom.sg.m. of pres.part. *hacimnō*

hapta 'seven' 21.1

hāu → *auua-*

hāθrō.masah- 'a *hāθra* in length' 18.7: acc.sg.m. *hāθrō.masaŋhəm*

hąm adv. 'together' 23.27

hē → *i-/h-*

hō → *ha-/ta-*

hōi → *i-/h-*

hiiaṱ (OAv.) 'that, because, since, when' 37.3

hišta- 'stand': 3.pl.pres.mid.ind. *hištəṇte*

hīm → *i-/h-*

huuar- n. 'sun' 18.6: gen.sg. *xᵛə̄ṇg* (OAv.)

huuō → *auua-*

hunairiiåṇk- 'dextrous' 18.2: gen.sg.m. *hunairiią̊ncō*

hunara- m. 'skill' 19.1: gen.pl. *hunaranąm*, inst.sg. *hunarā*

Word Index

Avestan (131), Old Church Slavic (149), Old English (149), Gothic (149), Greek (149), Hittite (150), Old Irish (150), Latin (150), Lithuanian (151), Oscan (151), Pāli (151), Old Persian (151), Prākrit (151), Proto-Indo-European (151), Proto-Indo-Iranian (153), Sanskrit (153), Umbrian (158). Words are indicated by section numbers, footnotes are preceded by the number of the chapter in which they occur. For instance, fn. 2.1 = footnote 1 in chapter 2, etc.

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